# THE ART OF EMBALMING

## Dead SAINTS,

discovered in a Sermon preached at the Funerall of Master *William Crompton*, the late Reverend and faithfull Pastor of the Church in *Lanceston Cornwall.*

*January* the fifth, 1641.

By *G. Hughes* B.D. Pastor of the Church in *Tavistocke* Devon.

*Mors lucrum*, Phil.1.21. *Sepulchrum cubile*, Esay 57.2. *Infernum nihil*, Heb.2.14.

*Fides victoria*, 1 John 5.4. *Imperatrix sanctitas.* Esay 49.7,8.

*Dei, & Christi. Hæc sunt Sanctorum trophæa.*

*LONDON*,
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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# To the VVorſhipfull the Major, Recorder, and Aldermen of the Towne of *Lanceſton* in *Cornwal*, with all in that place, who love the LORD JESUS in ſyncerity,

*Worthy, and beloved Friends,*

IF queſtion be, Why comes this in print? I will truly tell you; not my Ambition to be publicke by the Preſſe in this Worke: when I preached the ſumme of it unto you, my thoughts were not in the leaſt motion this way (God knows it.) But as by ſtroking, and by wringing the milke is drawne from an hard-milch't beaſt, ſo hath it fared with me. The love of Friends, who thought better of it than I my ſelfe, hath been ſtroking it out: but however a motion was made, yet did it not come by that: Shortly after, falſe and uncharitable aſperſions upon the dead and living, with defective copies of my Sermon flew about the Country; and theſe did wring mee', ſo that I reſolved to hold back no longer: Having therefore deſired at

the throne of Grace, that not my ſelfe but God might be eyed in it, I ſet upon the perfecting of my Notes, and yielded, that the World ſhould ſee, what doctrine I delivered, and whether I ſpake any thing of your deceaſed Paſtor that was not deſerved. My friends thus have their deſire, but the Enemies perhaps an *Eye-ſore*, I ſhall pray it may be an *Heart-healer* to them, if they vouchſafe to uſe it?

Now having thus prepared it, as I ſend it to the World, ſo have I thought good to direct it with a ſpeciall Dedication unto you, not for patronage over it, but for a believing Entertainment of it. If it be truth God is the Patron of it, he wil defend it, if it be falſhood, it is not worth the countenance of a man to ſhelter or abet it: And for my owne part, I thank God, my prayer & my ſtudie is, not to get Patrons to my ſelfe, but to make Friends and Favorites in the World to Chriſt. Upon this condition, this worke is yours, Deare Friends, truly yours, all yours, and I am yours, and ſhall rejoyce to be ſo, if you be Chriſts. I have but one word more unto you to ſtay you in the entrance, and it is of humble requeſt not for my ſelfe, but your owne precious ſouls. The hand of God hath bin againſt you in breaking and burying one famous *Chariot*, wherin you were carried ſwiftly towards Chriſt; And no leſſe hath it been

for

for you, in a ſweet providence repairing that loſſe, and ſending you a Man of God, to carry on his ſaving work among you. Now therefore I beſeech you, Forget not your loſſe, let his name be precious to you, let his labours live in your hearts and ways, fulfill his dying deſires, that yee be holy: and undervalue not this great mercie in your repaire. In many places Wolves watch over the poore flocke of Chriſt, that hurry them, & ſuck the bloud of their ſouls. What a mercy is it to have a Paſtor after Gods owne heart to keep & feed them? Such hath God given you: Accept this bleſſing and rejoyce in it; Love, honour & obey him that is ſet over you in the Lord to watch for your ſouls, that he may give up his account at laſt with joy to himſelfe, and abundant profit and gain to you. This I beg of you, for this cauſe I ſhall pray for you. The Lord of Glory, who is exalted to ſhew mercy to his people, from his High throne and boundleſſe fulneſſe, power out upon you the riches of his grace, he ſtrengthen, perfect, and ſtabliſh you. To him be Glory for ever, And in him I am,

*Your obliged friend and ſervant*
*for Ieſus ſake,*

*From my ſtudy in* Taviſtock,
*March* 28. 1642.

George Hughes.

# To the Reader.

Honeſt Reader,

*I Should not ſtay thee with the ſhorteſt Preface to ſo ſmall a work, but that it is ſomething needfull for me, and may not be unprofitable unto thee. It is not by ſubtile Apologie to palliate any errour, but by a plain confeſſion to prevent prejudice, which may ariſe in a good heart upon harmleſſe grounds.*

1. *It may be perhaps ſuggeſted to thee, this Sermon was preached twice; I confeſſe, theſe which I publiſh, are my ſecond thoughts upon this text; My firſt were vented not yet a yeere ſince at the Funerall of a dear Chriſtian Friend once of my Flock in* London, *which though for ſubſtance they were the ſame with the laſt, yet theſe in forme and inlargment are much different: however* conſitentem habes non reum, *I account it no crime to preach one Sermon twice, neither I hope wilt thou pre-judge it for this reaſon, if it were ſo.*

*It glad's mee now that by this I have occaſion to make mention of the name of that deceaſed member of Chriſt* Maſter John Underwood, *whom I had cauſe to prize living, (as I have to carry dear and precious in my heart. Many good ſouls in* * *that place ſurviving, whoſe I account my ſelfe yet to be for Chriſts ſake, if my life can doe them good.) And of him dead I cannot be unmindfull; It was his charge to me before his death,* Speak not a word of me, *and I obeyed his voice, yet now I hope it will be no impiety to write a word. If of truth and inlarged-*

* All-Hallows in Breadſtreet.

*largednesse of heart to Christ, the living and great expressions to his members may be an evidence as Christ makes it*; *Let the World then judge of him by the following character. Hee was a very free and open-hearted man to Christs cause and members, because they were Christs. I speak of my own knowledge, every yeer when he made up his books, and had summed up his debts and gains, constantly he would reserve the tenths, and write himselfe,* so much debtor to God; *for many yeers together he made me his Almoner, to relieve imprisoned, impverished, and sick Christians by these portions, with trust in me not to reveal his name, which I kept unto his death: The better tenth of his estate he gave to God also in his last Will. I mention this for a spectacle to the World, who thinke all lost that is spent upon God, but in this Christian let them see,* by liberall things is the liberall man established. *Hee died enriched with a full estate. I believe he is at rest, let him sleep untill the morning; Reader pardon this digression, it was a godly Friend led me aside.* Matth. 25.

Isai. 32. 8.

2. *It may be also muttered, much other phrase more inlargments are printed than were spoken. I confesse it, I promise the same things to thee, good Reader, not the same words through out that I preached: If I could do it, yet I know a difference observable in phrase and style beweene writing and speaking; Our people desire the lowest words wee can speak in hearing, but our Readers of all sorts are not so pleased; Life put's a working lustre upon the meanest language being spoken, when the best words will not move being dead onely in the letter: I hope*

the

*the phraſe throughout is Gods, if any thing different from the voice,* hanc veniam date, *I muſt beg this courteſie if ever I come to the Preſſe again. As for inlargments they are no more, but what by ſtraits of time I was forced to conceale and jumble with the reſt, or elſe which were added for more perſpicuity, whereby I hope thou ſhalt be no loſer.*

3. *It may be ſaid theſe many Authors alleaged were ſilenced in the Pulpit. I acknowledge it; I am never much in mentioning humane authorities in my Sermons, not to obſcure their worth, nor to be unthankful to them, for I am much beholden to them. But theſe conſiderations make mee mute in this, Firſt, Our people skill not of them, Secondly, One Word of Chriſt is worth a thouſand for him who preacheth to ſave ſouls. Thirdly, Their names and words with leſſe loſſe may fit a margin, than fill a Sermon, which being but for an houre ſhould be full of God for the ſouls to whom it is ſent. Theſe ſtops removed, I ſhall ſtay thee no longer from the work: Read in conſcience, read in love, read to gather, read to live. The Lord Almighty, the* God Holineſſe, *while thou art reading and looking deliver thee up unto his truth, and change thee into the ſame Image from glory to glory, to glory over ſin here, to glory over death and the grave hereafter. Thus powreth he out his ſoule for thee, that preſents this Book unto thee. Pray for him whom thou art ſure to have.*

Thine in Chriſt Jeſus devoted
for thy good

G. H.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# THE EMBALMING OF DEAD SAINTS.

Pſalme 16. 10.

*For thou wilt not leave my Soule in Hell: neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy one to ſee Corruption.*



The title of this golden Text may be *The embalming of the dead Saints*; the force whereof is to free the Soules from dereliction in the ſtate of death, and to ſecure the bodies of Gods Saints from Corruption in the grave. It is the art which I deſire to learne, and at this time, teach upon this ſad occaſion, even the preparing of this confection againſt our burialls, after I have toucht ſome generall things about the Pſalme.

1. The Penman of it is undoubtedly *David*, his name owne's it in the front.

2. The excellency of it is ſet forth in a golden title, it is *Michtam of David*, or a Pſalme worth Gold, even the pureſt Gold of Ophir, yea better than Gold.

3. The parts of it generally are two, 1. Prayer with the arguments of it from the 28. to 5. 2. Praiſe with the reaſons thereof to the end, in which part the Text falls as a reaſon of his forenamed joy and exultation.

4. The ſubject of whom all this is ſpoken, which is the *Maſter-vain* running thorough the Pſalme: whereabout may we put that queſtion, of whom ſpeakes the prophet, of himſelfe or of ſome other man? and thereunto reply truly, both of himſelfe and others alſo: for fuller ſatisfaction hereunto, know we, that a threefold ſubject is here ſpoken of in various reſpects, 1. Typically the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh here of himſelfe, it is *David* here as the figure of Chriſt, who ſaith, *I will bleſſe the Lord*, and *I have ſet the Lord always before me*, and *therefore my heart was glad, &c. for thou wilt not leave my ſoule in hell*; onely note here, Types as in their nature they are weaker, (as men in reſpect of Chriſt) ſo in the efficacy of events, and priviledges attributed to them, they fall farre ſhort of the verities and reall ſubjects which they Typifie unto us; Take that inſtance for proofe, In the Compariſon which the Apoſtle makes Heb 9 13.14. betweene *the blood of Bulls and Goates & the blood of Chriſt*, ſo here the priviledge expreſſed muſt bee leſſe and weaker in the *Type* than in the *truth*.

2. Antitypically, principally, and in primary intention *Chriſt the ſubſtance* and *truth of this figure* ſpeaketh of himſelfe, in all the forenamed expreſſions, and throughout the Pſalme; an infallible interpreter, by the mouthes of two Apoſtles, hath warranted this. The holy Ghoſt which Acts 2. 25. 30. 31. indited this Pſalme, hath ſpoken expreſly by Saint *Peter*, that *David being a Prophet, and knowing that God had ſworne with an oath to him that of the fruit, &c. hee ſeeing this before ſpake of Chriſt* in this Scripture. Acts. 13. 35. And no leſſe by Saint *Paul* in his Sermon at Antioch, is this verified, that Chriſt ſpeaketh in this Scripture; *David* then concerning Chriſt

especially

especially, and Christ in *David*, as the *Truth* gives this reason of his hope and his rejoycing.

3. Analogically and mystically every united member of Christ, even every Saint, whose head Christ is * his whole body the Church, which in the *Mystery* is called *Christ*, that is the subject also to whom these priviledges doe belong in their due measure and proportion, being partners of all the communicable excellencies of Christ both in life and death, living with him, crucified with him, dying with him, buried with him, incorrupted with him, untill they arise with him, never to dye againe, and be perfected with him in his glory. The *Type* is now resolved into the *truth*, and perfected in it, This *truth* is *Christ* * who extendeth the sweet influence of all his priviledges to every holy member: This Text therefore as the reason of Christs hope and gladnesse as well as of his *Saint-Church*, I shall now labour to hold out, and so would blazon the glory in it, to winne your hearts to Christ, and to raise up prevailing resolutions in you to be Saints.

1 Cor. 12. 12. * *As si dicat, Ecclesia, quæ est caro mea, modo requiescit in spe, id est, in spe resurrectionis, ut ubi caput præcessit, membra sequantur. Hieron. in Ps. 16. 9.* * *Neque sanctificatum corpus, per quod & alii sanctificandi sunt, corrumpi patietur. Aug. in text.*

Now at the very entrance into the explication of this Scripture, concerning Christ, there is no little trouble moved, to obscure the truth by the unhappy glosse of them, who maintaine the Locall descent of Christs soule into Hell, for the space of its separation from the body, and therefore force this text against its owne minde to speake it for them. I may not now fall upon the controversie, it will not suite with the season and present duties, yet this I will boldly say, that if the Abettors of this opinion have no better proofe of it, than this Text will give (as is more than suspected, they have not) it was not worth their Labour so much to trouble the Church of God with it. And for the Negative, that this Text cannot favour any such opinion as this, I shall lay downe these three reasons, and afterward labour in the affirmative, to give the naturall meaning of the words: *Salvo tamen fidei Articulo*, not denying, but earnestly affirming the Article of Christs descent into Hell in a right and sound sence.

1 I argue from the end of Christs locall descent into hell, which by confession is two fold. 1 some say [b] it was for triumph over the great enemy of mans salvation, 2 [c] others maintaine it was for a further suffering of his soule in that place: Now to the first, if it were for triumph, it is impossible that this Text can favour it; for it speakes expressely of a state of humiliation and suffering, and is therefore the reason of the gladnesse of Christs heart: that hee should not be left in it, *My heart is glad and my glory rejoyceth, for thou wilt not leave &c.* And had it beene a State of triumph, honouring the Sonne of God in hell, there could be no feare of dereliction in it, nor joy for deliverance from it; for it was a good condition.

[b] Bishop Bilson

[c] *Christus sicut cum summo dolore mortuus est, ita videtur & dolores post mortem in inferno sustinuisse.* Luth. in text.

To the second which seemes to have more favour from this Text, I answer, it cannot be the meaning of it consistent with the truth of other Scriptures; for as touching all the Torments that Christ indured himselfe telleth us, where they ended, when he said *it is finished*, and that was before his soule could be in hell; he could not then goe to be tormented there. And whereas it is suggested that *the paines of death* which are said to be upon him, seeme to note his sufferings in hell; it is irrationall so to conceive, for they were paines of death, or as some read Cords of death, and not of hell; and these must bee those, which hee suffered while his life was in him tending to death, or deadly: or onely the evill of the state of death in the separation of soule and body; whereof I shall speake in another place; Neither of these ends then can suite truth or this Scripture.

Joh. 19.30.

Act. 2.24.

2. This Scripture must bee so interpreted concerning Christ, that it must have its truth in *David*, and all the Saints; but *Davids* soule was never Locally *in* hell, the place of the damned, neither is it possible for the soules of the Saints to be there; for then there could be no translatation of them to heaven: if therefore this bee a state incompatible with the Saints, it cannot bee consistent with the glory of Christ, for to triumph, there is not one word of God that appoints him thither, but notes his triumph

Luke 16. 26.

in another place; if therefore his ſoule went into that place it muſt be to ſuffer, than which to ſay, there can bee no greater blaſphemy, for as much as the ſuffring ſoules cannot come thence into the place of the bleſſed.

3. The deepe ſilence which the beſt and moſt infallible interpreter, maketh concerning this gloſſe of Chriſts Locall deſcent into hell, in the true and full opening of this Scripture, in the new Teſtament; and the bearing of this Text another way, puts it out of doubt that this is but mans conceite, and not Gods meaning: for that ſpirit of truth by the hand of two Apoſtles evinceth nothing out of this Text, but the certaine prediction of Chriſts reſurrection from the grave, that God would not give over his ſoule to the ſtate of death, & ſeparation, nor his body to ſee Corruption; ſurely had there beene ſuch a remarkable thing, as a Locall being, and triumph of his ſoule in the place of the damned, it is incredible, that ſuch an interpreter, that knew the mind of God, ſhould omit ſuch a notable matter, and mention onely the reſurrection of Chriſt from the grave, as the ſole burden of this Text: if then the ſpirit of God, who interprets this Scripture declareth nothing from henee of a Locall deſcent of Chriſts ſoule to hell, wee may well conclude, it is the vaine phancy of mans owne braine, and not Gods mind revealed to us.

Act. 2. 31.

Having thus laid ſufficient ground for the Negative to turne off that forced ſence from the text; it will be convenient to touch a little upon the letter, and conſider now what it affirmes unto us, the words being the reaſon of the gladneſſe of Chriſts heart, the rejoycing of his glory, and the hope of his fleſh in this deepe abaſement, thus muſt wee conceive the ſonne ſpeaking to his Father, *Thou wilt not leave*, that is, thou wilt not ceaſe to be what thou haſt been to mee, thou wilt not deſert nor forſake me, *My ſoule* that is either properly my ſoule, my better part, *in hell or Scheol* that is in the ſtate of death, and ſeparation from my body; or Metonymically [o] *my life* in the depth and ſhadow of death, for the life of any thing is frequently ſet forth by

[n] Gen. 37. 35. Ezech. 32. 21. 27.
[o] Gen. 1. 20.

that word: or Synecdochically *my Soule*, that is, *my Carkasse, or body in the grave*, as it also used undoubtedly one part for another, *neither wilt thou suffer*, or more neerely to the word, *thou wilt not give* (for the Soveraignty of life and death is in Gods hand, the grave and corruption are at his command; and it must be an efficacious permission, if any in God, which is a giving leave to Corruption to dominere over his creatures) but thou wilt not so give *thine holy one*, that is, as the Apostles punctually interpret Christs body, that holy thing, (the whole being put for part) *to see Corruption*, that is, [d] to bee so long in the grave, as to bee corrupted or lye under putrefaction, and rottennesse which eminently was true of the body of Christ, it saw not the least corruption in the grave. Or if you please, rather to understand it of whole Christ, God will not give him his Holy one to see Corruption, to cease to be in the state of death, what he was before to God and to his Church. This is the genuine voyce of the letter warranted by abundance of other Scriptures; but for the other glosse rejected, it is not usuall to the letter, nor possible to stand with truth and right reason of interpretation.

To draw down all this good neerer towards our selves, and shew that these comforts are not shut up in Christ, but passeable from him to us, I will only lay downe this rule: *Whatsoever good priviledge or communicable excellency is attributed to Christ in the flesh, it is with respect to his body, the Church* (for unto it the son was given) *and what is eminently true of him in the letter, is really and in measure verified upon every one of his united members*: So is this sweet dignation of God to him, and them in the state of death.

There is yet one Rub in the way that must be removed, before we can carry this heavenly priviledge clearely for Christ and his members joyntly, and it is raised from a speech of the Apostles, which seemes to contradict this of *David*: here the Psalmist saith, thou wilt not give me, thy holy one *to see corruption*: then there must be a truth in this concerning himselfe, but Saint *Paul* urging this text to

prove

* Num. 5. 2.

Psal. 118. 18.

Acts. 13. 37. Psal. 49. 9. Psal. 89. 48.

[d] *Videtur mihi spiritus, in his verbis simpliciter loqui, & magis ad tempus respicere, quàm ad locum vel aliam circumstantiam, ut sit sensus, Non derelinques me tanto tempore, quanto naturaliter solent corrumpi cadavera, sed intra tempus, quo solent incipere corrumpi. me suscitabis.* Luth. in text. Esay. 96.

Dub.

Acts. 13. 36.

prove Christs resurrection, saith expressely, *David saw corruption*, and therefore inferreth the truth of this text only to concerne Christ.

Sol.

To solve which doubt and to cleare obscurities, I shall premise some distinctions, first of *David* the Subject, he is to be considered two wayes, first, as a Type of Christ, Secondly, as a member of Christ. Secondly, of Corruption the state that is affirmed and denied of him; which is two fold, first supernaturall and divine, such as respects mans being or relation to God, which is a ceasing to be to God-ward, what formerly and before death one was; Secondly naturall, which is onely in respect of mans being in nature, a cessation of that, or a change of it to no being, which in a graduall consideration may be also two fold, first, Total, Secondly partiall: these premised I answer.

1. Consider *David* as the Type of Christ, and resolved into Christ, as is the true use of all figures, to turne them into the substance represented, so he may be said to see no Corruption at all, as the Type usually in Scripture beares the name of the best priviledges and greatest effects of the truth it selfe the *Antitype*; so the *Lambe* is called the *passeover* as well as *Christ* himselfe: so Christ beares *Davids* name, and *David* Christs.

Exod. 12. 11. 1 Cor. 5. 7. Hos. 3. 5. Psal. 2. 2.

2. Consider *David* as a member of Christ, and Corruption as a cessation of being Gods, so *David* and Christ and the Saints neither have seene nor shall see Corruption at all, for they are all Gods, Holy ones, in the state of death, as much as in the state of life; He is the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, though they be in their graves.

Exod. 3. 6. Matth. 22. 32.

3. Consider *David* as Christs member, and Corruption for a cessation of naturall being, and rottennesse & Mouldring of the flesh to dust in the grave, so *David* saw Corruption, which is all the Apostle contends for: And this corruption Christ did not see in the least degree of alteration upon his flesh, wherefore, great reason had the Spirit of God, to shew that this Scripture was eminently fulfilled in Christ above any other creature: yet further in this the same

ſame ſpirit denyeth not, that the Saints in meaſure, and by participation, enjoy the ſame gracious priviledge, though not in that tranſcendent way made good unto them: Their fleſh though crumbled into duſt is Chriſts, which he will purifie and make up againe, to be conformed to his glorious body, ſo that it neither come ſimply not to be, nor to be miſerable, which properly may be ſtiled Corruption:

These doubts cleared now I ſhall proceed to weigh this Scripture more exactly: The text by it ſelfe conſidered is a notable bold propoſition of *faith* maintained againſt the ſenſible incroachments of the ſoules dereliction, and the bodies corruption in the grave, to keepe up hope in the darkeſt, ſaddeſt times, even under the ſhadow of death. It is the faith of Chriſt eminently, but of every Saint or Holy member really and truly; wherein are very obſervable,

1. The matter concluded and averred by faith in theſe two propoſitions.

1. Of the effect, which is expreſſed two wayes, firſt the holy ſoule ſhall not be left in Hell, Secondly nor the holy one, or the body given to ſee corruption.

2. Of the efficient or author, God will not leave the ſoule in hell, nor give his holy one to ſee corruption.

2. The manner of propounding theſe, not doubtfully, or fearefully, but peremptorily, certainely and confidently as becommeth faith, thou wilt not leave, &c.

Not to ſtand upon any further curious Mincing of the Scripture; there ariſe from all this, theſe three maine points of truth, which I ſhall deſire further to proſecute, and jointly to apply.

Doct. 1. 1. The propoſition of the confection of Embalme it ſelfe together with its force or vertue. *Holineſſe keepes the ſoule from dereliction in the ſtate of death, and the body from Corruption in the grave.*

Doct. 2. 2. The propoſition of the confectionary, the onely author and efficient of this Embalme, and its prevalency: *God will not leave his holy one in hell, nor give him to ſee Corruption in the Grave.*

3. From the divine assurance, peremptorinesse, and confidence, wherewith faith speakes, this the last proposition of the security of both the former comes forth, *Faith secures the holy one, from dereliction in the State of death, and from Corruption in the grave.* Of these I shall desire to treat for your profit: 1. Holinesse the excellent preserving Embalme, 2. God the efficient of it. 3. Faith the security of all: and then bring home the fruit unto your hearts, if it may be, that by the influence of Gods spirit, I might fulfill the desire of my deceased Brother in this worke, even for his sake, to leave something with his flock, that may stand them in stead in the day of darkenesse. Doct. 3.

1. I shall begin to hold out that Aphorisme or distinct position, which containes the confection of Embalme it selfe, and other appendent circumstances considerable with it, *Holinesse preserves the soule from dereliction, in the state of death, and the body of the Saint, from Corruption in the grave.* Doct. 1.

If it be desired by any that doubt of it, to see the cleare issue of this from the text, I shall guide them to read this text with a great accent upon that terme, *Thy Holy one*, that they may take speciall notice of it, even the quality of that man exempted from these evills: In this the spirit of God puts an emphasis upon *Holinesse*, as counter-working and prevailing over *death*, and the *grave*: it is this, and nothing but this, that thus keepes the man dead, and buried from desertion in death, and corruption in the grave. To looke a little more narrowly, into the worth of this little wedge cut out of *Davids Michtam* or his golden hymme, I shall propose and answer about it these three Queries, 1. *Quid sit*, what meaneth this golden truth? 2. *Quomodo*, how Holinesse doth effect all this? 3. *Cur sit*, why it is so effectuall?

To the first, the true value of this precious truth will appeare in the explication of these particulars, 1. The preservative *Holinesse*, 2. the vertue or force it *keepeth from* or, it *forbids or denyeth*. 3. The evill over which it prevaileth, *Dereliction and Corruption in state of death*, 4. the subject on whom Quid sit?

whom It worketh ſo powerfully, the Man, the Saint, *My ſoule, thy Holy one*, 1. What is this Holineſſe? all the helpe we have to find this out in the text, is only in that expreſſion *thy holy one*, which is diverſely rendred; by ſome *thy Mercifull one*; by others *thy gratious Saint*; and by others, *him whom thou favoureſt, or whom thou followeſt with mercy and goodneſſe*, or in ſhort, [e] *thy favourite*. The word indeed carrieth the voice of mercy and goodneſſe, but then they have done beſt, that tranſlate it paſſively, and note by it, the ſoule that hath received mercy and goodneſſe from the Lord to be ſanctified, and become a Saint. The ſeaventy render it plainly *thy holy one*, which the ſpirit in the new Teſtament, twice warranteth to be a ſound tranſlation, and our tranſlators doe well to keepe that expreſſion: which notes a man, pure from iniquity, and a Divine worſhipper, as Etymologiſts obſerve, but to leave bare words and to ſearch for the thing intended, even *Holineſſe*, I ſhall labour to open it, firſt, in its nature, ſecondly, In its Riſe, thirdly, In its relation.

What Holineſſe?

חסיד
Ar. Mont.
Ainſw.
Vatabl.
Iunius.
Bez. in Act. 2. 27.

[e] *Sanctus hoc loco, Hebr. qui gratiâ ſpiritus ſanctificatus eſt. Luth. in text.*

τὸν ὅσιόν σου
Acts 2. 27.
Acts. 13. 35.

1. Touching the nature of this *Holineſſe*, that we may reach it, need will require that we ſhould diſtinguiſh to ſelect that, whoſe nature we would know. Now the Holineſſe carried in the text is two fold, 1. primitive, wch is in the head, Chriſt the cheife Subject here intended, for above all eminently is he called the *Holy one* of God; and his holineſſe againe, is two fold. 1. Eſſentiall to him, as God equall with the Father, ſo is he the ſubject of that the Seraphims proclamation, *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hoſts*; even the Holy God.

Nature 1.

Eſay 6. 3.

2. Additionall, ſuch as by the Fathers pleaſure was poured out fully on him in the fleſh, and did concerne him as Mediator: for as he had the fulneſſe of the Godhead, and that eſſentiall Holineſſe, which is incommunicable being one with the Father, ſo no leſſe did hee thinke it meet being in the fleſh to become one with his Church, to receive ſuch a fulneſſe of the ſpirit, that might be communicable to his body, and from whence every true member might

Col. 2. 9.

Col. 1. 19.
Joh. 3. 34.

might have grace for grace; which fulnesse, how ever it was created to be fit for us, yet in Christ it received such an influence from that *God-holinesse*; by reason of the personall union, that it was most glorious, and not without this advantage, doth he give it out to beleevers: In this respect, he is called by way of eminency, *the* [f] *Holy one of God.*

Joh. 1. 16.

[f] *Christus propriè passim in scripturis appellatur Sanctus Dei, sanctus Dominus Lud. in text.*

Mark. 1. 24. Luk. 1. 35. Act. 3. 14.

2. Derivative, namely, that which by participation every true member receiveth from the Holy Head, or fountaine, and this is also two fold, according to the various wayes of Communication.

1. Holinesse imputed, which is Christs indeed in propriety and right, but the Saints onely by his deed of gift, and Gods gracious accompt. 1 Cor. 1. 30.

2. Holinesse infused, which hath a proper being in the Saints, wrought by the spirit of Christ, and left effected in them, whence they are likewise called by God an holy people: and that both these wayes they may be truly sanctified, Christ is said to sanctifie himselfe. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Joh. 17. 19.

Now then if wee restraine this priviledge to Christ, that *Holinesse*, which he received not abstracted from, but joyned with, and glorified by that *God-Holinesse*, did keepe him from dereliction, and Corruption in the state of death. But if we extend this benefit to every Member of his body Mysticall, as is intended by him, then the *Holinesse* created in them is their preservative also, being of the same nature, with that in their head, yet neither this separated, but accompanied with Christs owne Holinesse imputed, & that not stript of the abundant glory cast upon it of God, so that though the τὸ ζητούμενον, the matter whereof we desire knowledge be *creature-Holinesse*, and that infused into every Saint, yet by reason of its connexion with, and dependance upon that in Christ and *God-Holinesse* it selfe, whereunto it must beare conformity, we cannot understand one without the other, let us touch therefore upon the discovery of both.

1. That *Holinesse* which is *God*, may well be conceived

from the notation of his name: Now this the Prophet publiſheth, *his name is Holy*, which [g] word with the Hebrewes ſets forth that thing, which for ſome ſingular note of goodneſſe or of evill, was ſet apart for common uſe: but in this place, it muſt be taken in the better part, having reſpect to God, ſo that when God is called Holy; it notes him to be a *Being*, wholy ſeparate from all ſpots and imperfections, moſt pure, perfect, good, great, and moſt incomparably excelling all other *Beings*, in ſo much, that he will not bee touched, nor ſpoken of, nor ſerved by any low or polluted creature, but *will bee ſanctified by all that draw nigh unto him*, and for thoſe that have dealt too commonly with him, his Holineſſe hath beene as fire to conſume them. It is a Title therefore worthy of God, which *Moſes* doth give him, *Glorious in Holineſſe*, as noting that to be the Top of glory; and if we would have a fuller deſcription of this *Holineſſe*, it is the very excellency, redundant out of the confluence of all Gods Attributes; whereby he is ſet in the height of purity, above the reach either of the ſervices, or words, or thoughts of the moſt excellent creatures to be admired, not comprehended:

Eſay 57.15.

[g] Id propriè apud Hebræos Kados dicitur, quod a vulgari uſu & conſuetudine, propter ſingularem aliquam vel virtutis, vel vitii notationem ſemotum & ſejunctum eſt. Ar. Mont. in lib. Ioſ. cap.

Levit. 10.3.

Exod. 15.11.

2. The *Creature Holineſſe*, which we are now to finde is called the *Image of God*; by which expreſſion wee are guided to thinke, that the nature of it ſhould ſtand in the likeneſſe and conformity to the Holineſſe of God; whence this diſcovery may be of it, *Holineſſe is the excellency of the new creature, framed by the ſpirit of Chriſt after God: whereby the ſoule is ſet apart from Common men for ſpeciall Service to, and communion with the Lord*; where the ſame is called *a new man*, it is ſaid to be created *after God*; which phraſe gives us to conceive God under a double Notion. 1. Of a Creator, for that can be none elſe but hee, 2. Of a patterne or Copy, after which the new Creature is drawne, for to that purpoſe in the text, it ſeemes eſpecially to be urged; ſo that the great *Jehova* in creating this new thing, whereof *Holines* is the glory, doth lay himſelfe, and all his Attributes, as it were the originall patterne, conforme

Col. 3.10.
Eph. 4.24.
2 Cor. 3.18.

Eph. 4.24.

ſorme to which he is reſolved to make it; and as his *Holineſſe*, is the ſumme of all his Attributes, that ſets him to the higheſt; ſo the *Holineſſe* of this creature the ſumme of all the graces that concurre to its perfection, and the glory reſulting from them all.

To this ſtate of Holineſſe, foure things muſt concurre, 1. Reality, and truth of graces, 2. Integrity and fulneſſe of them, 3. A due and fit diſpoſition of them, betweene themſelves, as of members in a proportionable body. 4. A ſweet and cleare perſpicuity of them, in a ſincere profeſſion, which is like a freſh and amiable colour upon a well-proportioned perſon: Theſe ſo conſpiring make up *the beauties of Holineſſe*, wherein the people of Chriſt appeare, ſuppoſe the glory of all the ſtarres put into one, or the gliſtring ſparkes of all the Diamonds in the world gathered in one, or ſeaven dayes ſun-ſhine, joyned in one to make a ſurpaſſing glory, reſolve theſe into the confluence of all graces to make one tranſcendent and glorious one, and this *is Holineſſe*. This Holineſſe as an ancient calleth it, [h] is the pure, the full due, anſwering to the mind and will of God, in the *Archetype*; for that it ſeemes, was the uſe of the word rendred, *Holy*, to note a man not obnoxtious for defect, one that owed nothing; And not a whit improper is it here to ſet out true Holineſſe, which anſwereth to God his due. In the [i] new man Chriſt, as one ſtiles him, this Holineſſe is exact and full, and in every beleeving member, that is a new creature, it is truly and indeed, though as yet but in meaſure, not ſo heightned, as in the head: from this diſcovery made in the nature of Holineſſe, thus much may wee gather, that it is *in genere incorruptibilium* of an incorruptible being: grace therefore is not unuſually paraphraſed by incorruption; yea and ſuch a new creature is it, that at the oldeſt it is neweſt; ſome advantage, then may we ſee in its nature againſt thoſe evills, which are natures terrors.

2. The Riſe of this *Holineſſe*, that we may looke a little further into it, is from heaven; which ſpecifieth, and ſeparates it from equivocall, and falſe-named Holineſſe; And if it

Pſ. 110.3.

h Τὸ ὅσιον τί ἐστι; τὸ καθαρὸν, τὸ ὁμιλόμισθον. διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτελεθόντων φαμέν. τυτίσση, ἀλλὰ ὀφείλω αὐτοῖς λοιπὸν, οὐκ ἔλαττον ὑπόθυρος, ὅτως ἔθος ἡμῖν λέγειν. καὶ τὸ ἀφαγιασθέν μὲν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τετέλεσται τὸ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν. *Chryſ. in Eph.* 4.24.

i *Innovatus ſpiritu mentis, novum hominem dicitur induiſſe qui eſt Chriſtus. Ambr. in Eph.* 4. 24.

Eph. 6.24.

1 Pet. 1.23.

*In noviſſimo, noviſſima.*

2 *Riſe.*

it be a ſprout of Heaven, no Marvaile, that it keeps ſo ſweet to God, and ſecures the Saint from putrefaction in the earth, Its deſcent is not darkly ſhewed unto us in theſe intimations of it by the Holy ſpirit, *A birth from above heavenly things, a divine nature* ; which doe but paraphraſe Holineſſe in reſpect of its originall : I ſhall mainly touch but upon one teſtimony, which at once will give us both its riſe and vertue, & be no ſlender proofe of the whole truth :

Ioh.3.3.12. 2 Pet. 1.4.

1 Cor.15.47. 48.49.

*The firſt man is of the earth earthy, the ſecond man is the Lord from heaven; As is the earthy, ſuch are they that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, ſuch are they alſo that are heavenly; and as we have borne the Image of the earthy, we ſhall alſo beare the Image of the Heavenly.* In which allegation I ſhal only note, firſt the ſcope, to be the proofe of the reſurrection, 2. The burden of the Scripture, what it carrieth, to evince the former truth intended. There is evident at firſt ſight in the words, a parallell betweene the two *Adams*; their ſeed, and their events or laſt iſſue; upon the firſt part three propoſitions are laid downe, 1. Of his originall, the firſt man for his ſubſtance, qualities, and perfections was of the earth; and therefore is it averred, that he with the Rectitude, and Image of God which he had, according to his principles, was earthy; all out of the duſt, brickle enough in his owne nature, and likely to be broken, however by obedience hee might have beene preſerved, i Yet cleaving too much to the earth, he became ſinfully earthy, ſenſuall, and ſo obnoxious to death, as the event declared: 2. Of his ſeed; As he, ſo every living ſoule, that comes from him is earthy, corruptible and periſhing. 3. Of their end, he is returned to duſt, from whence he came, k and his ſeed doe beare his Image, and muſt ſee corruption alſo; upon the ſecond part, the ſame things are aſſerted. 1. The Riſe of Chriſt, the ſecond *Adam*, Hee is the Lord from Heaven (not man, or body from heaven, as if hee brought it from thence, to avoide that Hereticall gloſſe) He was as it is ſaid *a quickning ſpirit*, having power to give life, and the *Lord* having Soveraignty to diſpoſe it to his ſeed, and hee commeth himſelfe,

i Ἐκ γῆς χοϊκὸς γεγένηται πηλός, τοῦτ' ἔστι σαρκὸς πλασθείς. *Chryſ. in text.*

k Οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, ὅτι πρὸς ἀπολύτωσιν καὶ τελευτήσωσι. Ibid.

1 Cor. 15.45.

ſelfe, and brings this from heaven; it is not a nature ariſing from corruptible principles, but heavenly, and laſting, and communicable; of this he himſelfe is full, and therefore termed the *quickning ſpirit*, as being inriched with it, to give out Holineſſe with its powerfull vertue over death, as he doth to his peculiar ſeed, in their regeneration. 2. The conformity of his ſeed; even as hee, ſuch are they that are heavenly, that is, like in nature, ſpirituall, Holy, as he is ſaid to be a ſpirit; like alſo in deſcent; he and his excellencies from heaven, ſo they and theirs from heaven alſo. *Heaven and Heavenly*, beare a great *Emphaſis* here, and adde much vertue to the ſpirit of Holineſſe, which is eminently in Chriſt, as in the head, and anſwerably by meaſure, derived to the Saints. This is Gods heavenly Image, & therefore incorruptible, as the firſt was earthy, and thence ſubject to corruption: like alſo in the ſoveraignty given to this nature; he came not only as *the quickning ſpirit*, *but as the Lord from Heaven*: Lordſhip is joyned with his ſpirit, which gives power and ſoveraignty to it, over the grave: and no leſſe is the vertue of this addition annexed to his ſpirit of Holineſſe in the Saints, which gives it command and Lordſhip over corruption, it is a *Lordly Holineſſe*: 3. The iſſue of this *Lord Adam* with his ſeed, he came from Heaven, was manifeſted in the fleſh, grapled with death, and for a moment yeelded, and tooke his lodging in the grave; but all this while, ſaw no corruption, for that ſoveraigne-ſpirit preſerved him in, and raiſed him out of the pit in his ſet time: ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *we ſhall beare the Image of the Heavenly*: why did they not beare his Image in his ſpirit already? yea ſure in the true ſpirituall nature of it, they were borne from above, as he was from above; they Holy, as he holy; and they heavenly minded, as he heavenly: but yet they had not the Image or likeneſſe, of the power, and ſoveraignety of this ſpirit, in experience of its preſerving vertue in the grave. Now this they make ſure of, having the ſame heavenly and Lordly ſpirit from their head. This *Soveraigne Holineſſe*[1] they received in the firſt, and

[1] Οὗτος δὲ πνευματικὸς, πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πνεύμασιν, ἀθανάτοις καὶ λαμπροῖς. *Chryſ. in 1 Cor.* 15.48.

it be a ſprout of Heaven, no Marvaile, that it keeps ſo ſweet to God, and ſecures the Saint from putrefaction in the earth. Its deſcent is not darkly ſhewed unto us in theſe intimations of it by the Holy ſpirit, *A birth from above heavenly things, a divine nature*; which doe but paraphraſe Holineſſe in reſpect of its originall: I ſhall mainly touch but upon one teſtimony, which at once will give us both its riſe and vertue, & be no ſlender proofe of the whole truth: *The firſt man is of the earth earthy, the ſecond man is the Lord from heaven; As is the earthy, ſuch are they that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, ſuch are they alſo that are heavenly; and as we have borne the Image of the earthy, we ſhall alſo beare the Image of the Heavenly.* In which allegation I ſhal only note, firſt the ſcope, to be the proofe of the reſurrection, 2. The burden of the Scripture, what it carrieth, to evince the former truth intended. There is evident at firſt ſight in the words, a parallell betweene the two *Adams*; their ſeed, and their events or laſt iſſue; upon the firſt part three propoſitions are laid downe, 1. Of his originall, the firſt man for his ſubſtance, qualities, and perfections was of the earth; and therefore is it averred, that he with the Rectitude, and Image of God which he had, according to his principles, was earthy; all out of the duſt, brickle enough in his owne nature, and likely to be broken, however by obedience hee might have beene preſerved, [i] Yet cleaving too much to the earth, he became ſinfully earthy, ſenſuall, and ſo obnoxious to death, as the event declared: 2. Of his ſeed; As he, ſo every living ſoule, that comes from him is earthy, corruptible and periſhing. 3. Of their end, he is returned to duſt, from whence he came, [k] and his ſeed doe beare his Image, and muſt ſee corruption alſo; upon the ſecond part the ſame things are aſſerted. 1. The Riſe of Chriſt, the ſecond *Adam*, Hee is the Lord from Heaven (not man, or body from heaven, as if hee brought it from thence, to avoide that Hereticall gloſſe) He was as it is ſaid *a quickning ſpirit*, having power to give life, and the *Lord* having Soveraignty to diſpoſe it to his ſeed, and hee commeth himſelfe,

Ioh. 3. 3. 12. 2 Pet. 1. 4.

1 Cor. 15. 47. 48. 49.

[i] Ἐκ γῆς χοϊκὸς γεγὸς πνεύμ, πῶς σαρξ ἐστι προσπλεκόμενος. *Chryſ. in text.*

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1 Cor. 15. 45.

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[1] Οὗτος ὁ πνευματικὸς, πανταχοῦ καὶ πυρὰ νίου, ἀθάνατος καὶ λαμπρός. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor.* 15. 48.

and for its prevailing vertue over death, and the grave, as it hath beene proved in their head, ſo no leſſe doe they waite for it, and ſhall ſurely finde it in the ſecond reſurrection: To ſum up all from the ſeverall branches, It is certaine that *Holineſſe* for its originall is from heaven, whence it muſt have connaturall to it incorruption and Dominion, and that not onely over death, and the grave, but over Hell alſo; precious and powerfull muſt ſuch an heavenly Embalme be to preſerve its owner from Corrupting evills.

1 Cor. 15. 48.

3 Relation.

3. The *Relation* of this *Holineſſe* is a conſideration of that conſequence, and ſo expreſſely pointed at in the text, *Thy* holy one, that it may not be omitted, in the treaty of this *Holy unction*; the Saint ſeemeth to Eccho and ſing out that with a loud note, *Thy*, *Thy* holy one, two ſhares in himſelfe he conceives, *fleſh* and *ſpirit*, *nature* and *grace*, *Humanity* and *Holineſſe*, and as well two owners of theſe he confeſſeth, *Himſelfe and God*; It is *my ſoule*, *my fleſh*, in their weakneſſe, ſuch poore matters as they be; but *thy Holineſſe*, *thy grace*, *thy ſpirit*. As I am weake, and periſhing, I am my owne; but as I am holy & incorruptible, I am thine: weakneſſe, death, corruption with the wormes, the attendants of my fleſh are mine; but grace, and life, and incorruption are thine, however graciouſly caſt upon me. *Holineſſe is the Lords*, and that in theſe reſpects.

Eph. 2. 10.

1. Of being; it is immediately from God, the breath of his Mouth and the worke of his hands; even the holineſſe, both of head and members. It is not in the world untill God create it, nor appeares it in any ſoule before God begets it; If the Prince of Holineſſe would obtaine it for his ſubjects, he goeth to the father for it, *Sanctifie them through thy truth*, & however hee ſanctifie himſelfe & them, it is, as God; heare the confeſſion of another Saint, *I live, yet not I, but Chriſt lives in me*: He corrects himſelfe, as if he had ſaid amiſſe *I live*, and aſcribes that to Chriſt, who did more properly owne that life than he: yet he did live, as the ſubject of life; but Chriſt onely, as the author or Root of it; ſo may the Saint ſay in the preſent caſe, I am

Ioh. 17. 17.
Gal. 2. 20.

Holy,

Holy made ſo by grace ; Holineſſe is my crowne and dignity. But thy creature, and the fruit of thine owne Bowels: And I am *thy Holy one* of thy making if I be Holy. 2. Of ſpeciall intereſt in Gods affection, *Thy Holy one*, that is, thy *favorite*, whom thou haſt loved ſo as to ſanctifie ; and in whom thou delighteſt, after thou haſt made me holy. O how beloved was that *Holy Child*, whom God ſent into the fleſh? and no leſſe beloved thoſe united members ſanctified in him : ſtrength of love makes neereſt relations among creatures ; how much more may the infinite love of God incloſe his holy ones: and make them peculiar to himſelfe? Heare the experience of a gracious Saint, *The Lord hath ſet apart him that is Godly for himſelfe.* It is Gods choyce-peece the holy man, that no leſſe holds out grace in his life for God, than he receives it from him, And ſee how the ſame makes uſe of his intereſt in God ; *preſerve my ſoule for I am holy* ; as if Gods heart and arme were bound to Holineſſe, and ſo it is. The head Saint, and member-Saints confeſſe, we are thy Holy ones, thine by *Love* as by *creation.*

2.

M 2 117.

Iohn 17.23.

Pſal.4.3.

Pſ.86.
חסיד
*The ſame word in both forenamed places as in the text.*

3. Of covenant, Thy holineſſe, or thy holy one, by nature thine, by affection thine, and by covenant thine ; ſuch a three fold cord of intereſt, which keepes God to the Saint and the Saint to God, is not eaſily broken. God hath given himſelfe by Covenant to his Saints, he delivered it to *Abraham* their father his *ſaint-friend*, *I will be a God to thee and to thy ſeed after thee.* And no leſſe have his Saints by Covenant given themſelves to God ; The Lord ownes them for his thereupon, *gather my Saints to me, thoſe that have made a Covenant with me by ſacrifice*, *Head and Branch-Saints* are firmely thus the Lords : Now then returne and looke backupon this Holineſſe, ſuch an heavenly confection, that hath ſuch a Father, ſuch a favourer, ſuch a confederate; God wholy for it, as it for God; death ſtartles at it, the grave becomes weake, corruption cannot approach to oppreſſe that ſoule, where holineſſe dwells. This, this, deare Chriſtians, is that Soveraigne Embalme, which I would have you prepare againſt your burialls.

3.

Gen.17.7.

Pſ.5.5.

2 What the vertue of it?

2 What then is the vertue of this holy ointment? In this place I ſhall touch of it, no more than it concernes the preſent caſe: The expreſſion of it in the text is meerely negative, and that infolded in the main Acts concerning God: His Arme is cheife in the worke, *Thou wilt not leave, thou wilt not give*, the preeminence whereof I will not conceale in its place; yet under God, Holineſſe forbids dereliction and corruption to its Tabernacle; no deſertion in the ſtate of death, no corruption to the holy one in the grave, yet though here bee none but Negatives expreſſed, a double force of this holineſſe is intimated. 1. Negative, which is an abſolute deniall of Gods deſertion, and of corruption to befall the Saint in the ſtate of death: holineſſe prevents all this evill; 2. Poſitive, and that evident in three effects. 1. It [m] Honours the Saints with God, as Odours, and oyntments, and precious Embalmes did kings in the ſight of people at their burnings, or funeralls. It is a ſtanding rule, *precious in the ſight of the Lord, is the death of his Saints.* 2. It drawes and invites God to them, no leſſe than the Name of Chriſt, that fragrant ſweet ſmelling oyntment, provokes the hearts of Virgin Saints to come out to him, and love him: He abhors not therefore to be in the Sepulchers of the *great Saint* and of all his fellowes. [n] It is the praiſe of vaine oyntments, that they draw them that doe neglect them, how much more muſt this holy odour invite God to it, that doth reſpect it. 3. It pleaſeth and delights the Lord, to be alwayes ſmelling on the Saints Carkaſes; ſo ſweet is the ſavour of holineſſe unto him: Alive or dead, they are his holy ones, therefore in either condition, ſweet in his Noſtrills. As *Iſaac* expreſſeth his delight in *Iacobs* ſavour, *The ſmell of my ſonne, is as of a field which the Lord hath bleſſed*, More ſweet with God, muſt be the ſmell of his Holy ones, even the ſavour of Holineſſe his owne bleſſing, and if Gods hand be on it to make it, and to bleſſe it, his delight can never depart from it: This is the vertue of the Holy Embalme.

m *Honos is (ſc. unguentorum) ad defunctos pertinere cepit.* *Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 13. cap. 1.*

2 Chron. 16 14 Pſ. 116. 15. Cant. 1. 2.

n *Commendatio unguentorum & c. eſt ut invitet aliud agentes* *Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 13. c. 3.*

Gen. 27. 27.

3 What the evill?

3. The evill over which the Soveraignty of this Holi-

עיבלשאל
שחת

neſſe

neſſe prevaileth is diſcovered in the text, by a double expreſſion, *deſertion & Corruption* in the ſtate of death; which two may have a double conſideration.

1. As they concerne the ſubject intirely, even the whole man, and ſo they ſet forth one and the ſame thing; the latter being the fuller interpretation of the former, *Thou wilt not leave me in the ſtate of death* that is *to be Corrupted*; that death ſhould feed on me, prey upon me, or vanquiſh and domineere over me, as it doth upon the wicked; death is Lord over them: Secondly, as they doe each of them ſeverally reſpect the two parts of man; ſo *dereliction* may bee ſtiled the *ſoules evill*, and corruption the *bodies miſery* in the ſtate of death; either way is ſafe enough to take them: if joyntly, as they reſpect the whole, wee muſt divide them for a due proſecution; if diſtinctly, as appertaining to ſeverall parts, we ſhall joyne them againe as concerning the whole man. I chooſe rather the latter way. Pſa. 49. 14.

1. Deſertion then as the ſoules evill in the ſtate of death is rightly to be weighed, whereabout two termes would be a little opened, 1. *Scheol* rendred hell, or the ſtate of death; 2. The leaving or dereliction in this condition.

1. As for this *Scheol*, if it be more narrowly inquired what it is; It hath beene clearely ſhewed, that hell the place of the damned cannot bee here meant by it, the ſoules that goe thither, are alwayes left there, no returne thence is granted to any; It muſt then note the ſtate of the firſt death, and the evill of it, with ſpeciall reſpect unto the ſoule of man. A full paraphraſe of this the ſpirit giveth us, calling it *the paines of death*, from which Chriſt was looſed in his reſurrection; an expreſſion importing a great deale of bitterneſſe in the ſtate of death, as paines in a womans travell, from which it ſeemeth Chriſt was not free, therefore neither can the Saints be exempted: Now theſe paines are not of ſenſe, but ſome kind of loſſe for preſent, which this *deadlyhed* brings upon the ſoule ſuch as theſe: Acts. 2. 24. ὠδῖνας θανάτου

1. *Separation* from the body, for which it was firſt made, in which it hath lived and exerciſed its faculties, and unto

which it must be reunited. This is no small paine of death; whence it is called the *King of terrors.*

Iob 18.14.

2. *Imperfection* in respect of the glory to bee cast upon the reuinted parts; for howsoever the soule hath fulnesse of joy, being in the bosome of him that made it; yet there is a want of that glory, which shall be revealed, when the flesh shall be raised up, and both together be honoured: This is a paine also, symbolized, if not proved, by the cry of those separate soules under that Christ-Altar. *How long How-longs?*

2.

Revel. 6.10.

3. *Retention* for a time under the power of death: for a moment this tyranny fastened upon the *head Saint*: but it was not possible that he should be held by it, longer than himselfe pleased, and that was accompted to him a paine: much more then to the *member Saints*, over whom death's violence doth more prevaile, and keepes them longer in the house of darknesse: And this is an evill not to be indured. All this the *Scheol* or state of death doth not only bring, but would keepe upon the Saints.

κράτος θανάτ[ου] Acts 2.24.

2. The other member must come in to make it a full evill; and that is the *leaving* or *desertion* of the soule in this state of *deadly-head*: which dereliction is considered, either as an act of Judgment from God, whereby he resolveth to leave soules to *scheol*, or that state death to rule over them (whereof I shall speake hereafter;) or as an effect of Judgement upon men, when such a sentence shall bee executed and soules actually left to endure for ever the paines, and be held under the bands of death; these make it perfect misery, and desperate evill: Against this first part of deathes Malignity will *Holinesse* secure.

2.

שחת διαφθορα'

2. Corruption the *bodies plague* feared in the grave must have a little light to reveale it. It may be two fold, as it respects a double object, expressed in the text: 1. As it concernes the man, so it is naturall or bodily, a change of the body to putrefaction and Rottennesse, and this may also be, either partiall, and joyned with mercy, or totall and with a curse not to bee repaired, but for a worse corruption

ruption in hell : 2. As it concernes the holy man ſo it is divine and ſpirituall, & that is a ceaſing to be in the ſtate of death Gods gracious and accepted Saint ; from all the *Prince Saint* was eminently exempted not the leaſt change was upon his body in the grave : and from this laſt with that totall curſed corruption is every ſubject Saint priviledged by Holineſſe : only in mercy doe they for a time lye under the naturall change of their fleſh, while they are ſowne in the earth, that they may ſpring out againe to a glorious incorruption : It is a remarkable diſcovery of the Saints condition in the grave, *This corruptible muſt put on Incorruption* : wherein doe but view. 1. The ſubject, the body of the Saint in nature as periſhing as any other, a corruptible, or a corrupted thing : 2. The end whereunto this is intended and carryed, not of corruption but perfection : Incorruption is the worſt, that this corruptible of the Saints puts on, and reſteth in.

1 Cor. 15. 53. Τὸ φθαρτὸν

Ἀφθαρσία

3. The neceſſity of this, it muſt be ſo, and there is no contingency in the event : and one neceſſitating cauſe though not the higheſt, is the Holineſſe ſtampt upon that corruptible thing : Infidelity may quarrell at the Saints, that they doe ſee corruption, as the Jewes did at Chriſt, denying this Scripture to be meant of him, becauſe the word rendred corruption, ſignifies the Pit or grave, into which ſay they, he was given, therefore hee did ſee the pit ; But know they to be given to the pit, is to bee under the power of it, that is to be corrupted, as Chriſt in the leaſt degree was not : ſo to be given to ſee corruption, is to be ſubdued and overcome by it, and thus the Saints are not but after all their changes put on *Incorruption*.

חֵן

4. The Subject both of the evill and remedy is *man* the *Holy Man*, in the text expreſſed *My ſoule thy holy one* ; whither we take theſe two expreſſions, as noting the two eſſentiall parts of man, the ſoule and body, or elſe if we take the former figuratively for the whole man, or for the body, as by foregoing inſtances appeares it may be taken ; and the later as noting the condition or quality of the whole man.

*The Subject.* 4. נַפְשִׁי

man. Theſe things are conſiderable about it:

1 The aptitude of this ſubject in it ſelfe, to be forſaken of God and corrupted; the principles of it at the beſt, are but corruptible, and the man himſelfe mortall.

2. The neceſſity by reaſon of ſin, which is ſpread over all men, that this ſubject ſhould be left to death and corrupted: when God himſelfe had given ſentence, *Thou ſhalt dye the death*, and, *As duſt thou art, ſo to duſt ſhalt thou returne againe*; otherwiſe it were no wonder to be preſerved from theſe evills; But now when man may and muſt periſh in himſelfe, that *Holineſſe* ſhould ſtep in and ſave, that he ſhall not be left to death, nor bee corrupted in the grave: This ſtill exalts the excellency of this Embalme. Such is the ſubject, and ſuch it's danger; ſuch is *Holineſſe* and ſuch it's vertue. In all the weight of this peece of golden truth may be gueſſed.

Gen.2.17. Gen.3.19.

*Quomodo* 2.

2. But how doth Holineſſe effect and ſecure all this unto the man? I ſhall anſwer ſhortly, by theſe two wayes ſweetly and comfortably. 1. By way of evidence ſignifying and teſtifying this gracious priviledge in the ſtate of death to a poore ſoule, as a pledge or token, which God hath given for ſecuring the ſame: The Bow of God in the cloud is not a ſurer ſigne to men; that the world ſhall not bee drowned againe, than Holineſſe is to the Saint, that his ſoule ſhall not be left in the ſtate of death, nor his body ſee corruption in the grave: The Lord himſelfe, when hee had made the covenant of everlaſting union and Communion in life and death, with his accepted and ſanctified ones, Lookes upon it as the waters of *Noah*, that is, as unalterable, for as much as hee may not drowne all fleſh any more. But how ſhall the Saints be ſecured in themſelves? God will deck them with all precious ſtones, *Saphirs*, *Agats*, and *Carbuncles*, which ſpirituallized are his glorious graces, and by theſe ſhall they be ſecured of Gods never departing goodneſſe; This is Holineſſe:

Gen. 9.13.

Eſay.54.9.11.

2. By way of influence, though not meritorious from [illegible] yet efficacious againſt theſe evills by grace from God

God : This as it is carryed in thoſe uſuall titles of Holineſſe, *life* and *Incorruption*, which have in them vertue oppoſite to corruption and death, and are invincible by them, ſo its it moſt ſweetly paraphraſed, when it is ſtiled an *unction* from the holy one : for as the Legall and inferiour anointing of men to be Kings, Prieſts, or Prophets, put a ſacred ſtamp upon them, and a ſecuring law, *touch not mine Annointed* ; ſo that none durſt lay hand on them to hurt them, without incurring Gods deepeſt diſpleaſure ; And therefore *David* upon the *Amalikites* falſe-ſelfe-accuſation, about *Saules* death, ſtartles him with this queſtion, *How waſt thou not affraid to ſtretch forth thine hand to deſtroy the Lords annointed*? So much more, that Supreme and Evangelicall *unction* powred out upon Chriſt, with and above his fellowes, muſt ſet him and them above all the injuries that death or the grave can doe unto them. God ſpeakes to them, as *David* to the *Amalekite*, how are yee not affraid to lay hand upon the Lords annointed ? Nay, death and the pit, ſhall bee more affraid to corrupt the holy annointed duſt, and more faithfull to Gods law, not to touch the Saints bodies to Corruption.

1. Joh. 2. 20.

Pſa. 106. 15

2 Sam. 1. 14.

Pſal. 45. 7.

The laſt thing required to finiſh the doctrinall part of this truth ; is the *Proof* or demonſtration of it, Why Holineſſe ſhould be ſo powerfull againſt deaths malignity, and the graves corruption ; whereunto may be full ſatisfaction, from the due conſideration of theſe three grounds,

3 Cor. 5. 17

1 The Saints union with Chriſt their head, which is fully according to our Lords [o] ſupplication to his father ; the Saints are *one* with him and the father, as they are *one*. It is not the ſame union as betwixt the father and the ſon, eſſentiall, for this is impoſſible, but as like it as may bee, myſticall, the holy Ghoſt himſelfe being the ſpirit of uni-

Reaſ. 1.

Ioh. 17. 21.

[o] *Dominus patrem orat, ut qui in ſe credituri ſunt, unum ſint, ſicut ipſe in patre eſt, & pater in eo eſt, ita omnes in his unum ſint. Quid hic æquanimitatem, quid pervoluntatis aſſenſum animæ & cordis unitatem introducis ? Locutus plane ille eſt vera & ſincera fidei Evangelicæ Sacramenta ; neque ſolum locutus eſt ad ſignificationem, ſed etiam ad fidem docuit, ita dicens, ut omnes unum ſint. Hilar. l. 8. de Trin. p. 100. Edit. Baſil.*

on,

on, the very Ligament and bond that coupleth them: ſo that it is a reall union, as that of the father and the Sonne, and eternall as theirs is alſo; whence I thus demonſtrate, that if the union eſſentiall betweene the father and the ſon, and the union perſonall of the ſonne with our fleſh were never diſſolved in the ſtate of death, but gave him a preſerving power in the time of deadly head, and raiſing power in his appointed ſeaſon; then in likeneſſe and proportion, the myſticall union between Chriſt & his Saints cannot be broken in the grave, and if not, the divine power of the head muſt needs preſerve againſt the prevailing of deathes Tyranny his holy members, and raiſe them from the belly of the grave in his owne time: See God in Chriſt acknowledging, and accounting the carkaſſes or
Eſay 26.19. dead bodyes of the Saints his owne: *Thy dead men ſhall live* (and as we read it) *together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe*, but more neere the letter and emphatically thus, *They my dead body ſhall ariſe*, ſo that they are Chriſts united when they are dead, Chriſts fleſh, Chriſts bones, Chriſts duſt, and if he be with them, no feare can there be of the ſoules dereliction in the ſtate of death, or of the bodyes Corruption in the houſe of darkneſſe.

Reaſ. 2. 2. The neceſſary and inſeparable connexion, betweene Imputed and infuſed grace; I meane, the undivided fellowſhip of Chriſts Holineſſe, which is his properly, and by inhabitation, yet the Saints alſo by gracious imputation, and the Holineſſe created and abiding in the ſoule: This alwayes carryeth that with it, as its glory and perfection; where this is, that is, where this workes, that workes alſo to carry out to victory; if this be upon the duſt of Gods gracious one's in the grave, there will that be alſo to perfume it and preſerve it, and at laſt make it victorious over death and the pit: there can be no feare of the deadly enemies prevailing over the Saints; for as much as this *Head-holineſſe* is a knowne conquerror, and hath already made the grave to tremble, and vanquiſht the power of it. This is the ground of that victorious ſong, which the Saints take

up

up from Christ: *Death is swallowed up in victory; O death where is thy Sting, O grave where is thy victory?* what is the matter I pray, that poore buried men should so insult over their oppressors? It followeth this *victory is through our Lord Iesus Christ*, He had said before, *O death I will be thy plagues, O grave I will be thy destruction*: And now what he by his excellent holinesse hath done, redounds upon his beleeving members, that though in themselves, they bee weakly holy, & therefore may be assaulted by these proud enemies, yet in him having perfect holinesse, they must bee victorious; and set up above the graves Corruption. 1 Cor. 15. 54. 55. 17. Hos. 13. 14.

3 The undoubted relation of the Saint to God and true interest in him: how God and all his Attributes stand ingaged to Holinesse, is already in some measure discovered. What hee will certainely doe for his holy ones, will bee more fully declared in the next point: for present know we, The Lord is the God and *King of Saints*: The Lord doth go before them, & the God of Israel is *their rereward*, therefore cannot death look them in the face to hurt them, nor the grave pursue after to make a prey of them, their owne God stands before them, and behind he gathers them up: blessed is the holy one, for in his God he shall never see corruption. Reas. 3. Revel. 15. 3. Esay 52. 12.

But why then doth the *dead Saint* cry out as a man forsaken, before he fell into the pit, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* If the chiefe of Saints find a dereliction before death, the inferiour may feare to be left and corrupted when they are dead. Dub. Matth. 27. 46.

The answer in short may be, this desertion may be considered, Sol.

1. In the truth of the thing, 2. In the sence of the patient. Now it is certaine, that in deed and truth God had not left him, for the union was then continued, and by his inabling and assisting presence was with him, kept him in the grave, and raised him to glory; but in the feeling of this holy one God seemed to be with-drawne, and that only in respect of his comforting presence, that the redeemer

might feele the burden of his peoples sins upon him, while he suffered an Eclypse of the light of his fathers countenance; and that having felt he might pitty and helpe such as at any time might fall under that temptation, otherwise Christ was not left, for thus he saith, thou wilt not leave &c.

2. Having thus farre stated the vertue of this Holy Embalm, it is in order requisit next to consider it's Author and maker God, upon whose Arme only depends the being and force of it, The second proposition sets him out and his work: *God will not leave his Holy one in Hell, nor give him to see corruption in the grave.* In this point God beares the Emphasis and his efficiency in the Saints priviledge. *Thou, thou* Jehovah *wilt not leave &c.*

Doct. 2:

In the consideration of which truth, I shall onely inquire, 1. *Quid sit*, The meaning of some termes, 2. *Cur sit?* the grounds necessitating this truth.

1. The termes I shall touch in explication are only two. 1. The efficient, 2. His work: As touching the first, that we may see the saint trusteth not to the *vanities* of the Gentiles, but layeth the worke upon good strong hands indeed, even his, who is the God and Father of our Lord Iesus Christ; of him I shall shortly note these proper Characters.

1 Efficient.

1. He is *God life*; hee that saith I live, that is truly eminently and of himselfe, and so can none else say besides him; As the creature *is not* in comparison of *his being*, so it *lives* not in comparison of his *life*; nothing is, or lives, or can be, but by dignation from him, and participation of him; O how is he like to match death and the grave?

Deut. 32. 40. Esay 40. 17.

2. He is *God love*; The great saint and his companions, scarcely remember him by any other name; neither hee stiles them any thing, but his beloved. What will hee not then doe for them?

1 Ioh. 4. 8. Matth. 17. 5.

3. Hee is *God power*; so he speakes of himselfe, I am God Almighty, & by reason of this power he hath soveraignty over all creatures, actions & events in the world; Alas poore

Gen. 17. 1.

Gods

Gods that can doe no good neither can they doe evill. *I form light and create darkneſſe, I make peace & create evill, I the Lord doe all theſe things*: This is God indeed: He kills and he makes alive, death and the grave are his slaves: and ſhould he let them domineere over his holy ones?

Eſay 41.23. 24
Eſay 45.7.
Deut.32.39.

4. He is *God eternall*, the *firſt* and the *laſt*: none was before him, to prevent his purpoſe, and good will towards his choſen Saints; neither can any come after him to ſupplant them: death was not before he commanded, neither ſhall it be after he gives forth the word, *Let it be ſwallowed up and deſtroyed*: If this God will then preſerve his holy ones, in ſpight of death and the grave, who are they, that they ſhould reſiſt him? And thus God will doe as his worke will teſtifie:

Deut.33.27.
Eſay 44.6.

1 Cor. 15.26. 54.

2. The worke of this God is ſet downe in two Negatives, concerning his holy one in the ſtate of death. 1. Thou wilt not leave, 2. Thou wilt not give. They are both referred to the ſame object, the Saint in the ſtate of death, and ſo muſt be conſidered, with this rule, that wee apply to each part the privilege herein peculiar to it, to the ſoule her property, and to the body its peculiar, freedome from deſertion may concerne both, but from corruption as here intended, ſeemes only to reſpect the Holy fleſh, ſowne in the duſt. Now to weigh theſe Acts of God.

2. The worke

1. Thou wilt not leave &c. His meaning plainly is, God will not forſake him in the houſe of darkneſſe, nor ceaſe to be to him either in body or ſoule, what formerly he had beene in the ſtate of life: The affirmative then is this, that God will be to Chriſt and his holy members in the ſtate of death, to their ſoules, to their bodyes, what ever he had been: more punctually God will not faile them in theſe 4. reſpects:

לא תעזיב
α κατακαταχθόν

1. Of *union*; God was *one* eſſentially with his ſon before death, and God the ſon *one* perſonally with our fleſh in life, and in neither doth God faile him now under the bonds of death: He and the Father are one now as much as ever;

Ioh.10.30.

So God and man as much one Christ now, as ever. Though soule and body be for a while parted, yet God is not gone from either.

This is transcendent for the *Prince Saint*; yet every meaner saint may claime his priviledge in measure: God in Christ is mystically *one* with these, having by his spirit knit them to Christ their head, and thorough him to himselfe: once *one*, and ever *one* is God, when hee doth reunite to man in Christ: though spirit and flesh part and faile them, yet God failes them in soule and body never; rottennesse and stench in the grave cannot drive him away, nor separate him from his dust: Bodies and soules are parts united to Christ, so that they are of his flesh and of his bone, therefore never by death to be divided from him: They are Gods owne, what ever they be.

Joh. 17. 23.

2. Of *Relation*: The Lord was Christs, God and Father, while he was alive, his voyce from heaven proclaimes it, *This is my beloved Son*; and as tender hearted a Father was he to him, when he was dead, he did not cease to bee what he was: neither doth he to the Holy seed arising from him. He is Christs Father, and their Father, Christs God, and their God, while they are in the Land of the living; and though man dye, God dyeth not, not his relation, wherein he hath beene knowne to his, he his the father of the Saints dust in the pit, and of their soules in his hand, as well as he was of both united: Hee gloryeth to be knowne at this day, The God of *Abraham*, The God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Iacob*, God of their soules, God of their dust; yet not the God of the dead, but of the living, as our Lord teacheth, for as much as they are related to the fountaine of life, and shall by him bee revived and raised; They and the Saints are his, therefore not truly dead; if so then were they left.

Luke 9. 35.

Ioh. 20. 17.

Matth. 22. 32.

Iohn 1. 18.

3. Of *affection*: what love the Father bare to the Son in his life time, is fully expressed in that one passage, he was *in the bosome of the Father*, and no whit was it abated, when he dyes, nay for that cause rather more love is now discovered,

discovered; it is his own word, *therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay downe my life*; and when it was gone, he could not be loved lesse, God could not leave now to affect him: It is no otherwise with his brethren-Saints, if God love them even as he hath loved him, yeelding to Christs own request; whom he loves he loveth to the end; and death is no end of being unto them; conforme therefore herein are they to their head also; God cannot leave to love them in the grave, nor can death separate from Gods love in Christ.

John 10.17.

John 17.23.

Rom. 8.38.

4. Of *Operation*: God wrought in Christ and for Christ admirably in his life; God glorified him in his combate with Satan, in his conflicts with the world, in healing sick, and raising dead, in curing bodies, and saving soules, he confesseth the Father workes and he workes in all. And will he now leave working with him and for him in the grave? Nay his *glory* is there also, to keep him, to command & drive away corruption from him to make him laugh at death, and scorne the frownes and terrors of the grave, yea to raise him againe out of the pit, and exalt him up to his victorious throne: But was this for him only? Is it not for his confederates also? Yet the poorest Saint hath a portion here, God will not leave to work for them in death: Hath he rescued them from the power of Satan and from the hand of hell by his quickning and converting grace? and shall he now leave them to be a prey to death? Nay sure, he that hath begun is faithfull; and will not leave working, untill he carry them through the shadow of death, and house of darknesse, and perfect salvation for them in the heavens: you see the first work;

Isay 55.5.

John 11.41.43

John 5.17.

2. *Thou wilt not give, &c.* or *thou wilt not suffer, &c.* Yet the former is more neer the letter, and a word of action more consonant in reason for the present purpose then of permission; for an efficacious permission seemeth too little for God about this matter, for as much as God doth not only permit these evils to be done upon his enemies, but his owne hand doth them, as a Judge dividing right:

לא תתן

So that in this confidence of Gods gracious will to him, the Saint acknowledgeth these things concerning the Lord.

1. His soveraignty over the graves malignity, as if hee had said, thou mightest give me into the power of the grave, but thou wilt not, thou art the Lord of it and me, and it cannot budge one jot beyond thy leave.

2. His sentence, so that to give to see corruption is to give sentence upon a soule, and to adjudge it to the cruelty of the grave, thus God doth to some.

3. His execution also of this, it is the Lord not only that hath power over these evils and giveth sentence, but whose arme doth execute, even corrupt and destroy the condemned, and this makes it intollerable evill, when the hand of God inflicts it upon sinners: Now from all these the Saint confides to be exempted (and he is not deceived) God will be faithfull. He therefore speaks very boldly, *Thou wilt not give thine holy one to see corruption,* That is, thou wilt not use thy soveraignty over death to the disadvantage of thy Saint, thou art Lord of all, not against, but for me, not to destroy, but save me in my bed. Not wilt thou command death to feed upon me, nor the grave to rot me away from thee, but rather wilt thou give sentence for me to preserve thy darling in the house of death, and require it back safely and with advantage from the place of thy sequestration: neither wilt thou stretch out thine hand thy selfe to corrupt thine holy one, (which none can doe without thee) but rather spread it over thy favourite and carry me in the hollow of thy hand, that a perpetuall desolation may not come neere me. This is the work of God for his Saints in the state of death, a sure defence is he against desertion and corruption.

p Hinc & Apostolus concepit, seminarium dicere, cum redibetur in terram, quia & seminibus sequestrationum terra est, illic deponendis, & inde repetendis. Tertul. lib. de car. resurr. c. 25

2. Cur sit.

3. But why will God do this for his holy ones? I shall in short reply. 1 The eternall purpose of God. 2 His promise and covenant with the Redeemer. And to faith in him are the causes of it, I will but touch these.

Reason. 1. God will thus stand by his Saints in the state of death, because

because from eternity, he hath purposed and decreed, to make them, to call them, and through tribulations, sufferings, death and the pit to bring them to glory. Concerning which purpose I shall but note, 1 The freenesse or independency of it on any thing in the creature; it is of himselfe, and for himselfe only; that thus he purposeth, therefore he must be most willing to his own work. 2 The stedfastnesse and immutability of it, he wavers not in his counsels, nor repents of what he hath resolved or done, therefore the least unwillingnesse cannot come in to decline him from his purposed grace to his chosen ones.

Ephes. 1.4,11. κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ. Ephes. 1.11.

Rom. 11.29. Ἀμεταμέλητα.

2 God will not leave them, nor give them to corruption, because his covenant with the Redeemer and his seed is to set them above all, and this God gives to Faith to keepe as a sure evidence against the day of darknesse, and thereby to secure the soule of its welfare. It is Gods word to Christ, *Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-stoole*, and among them *death* is not the least. And it is Christs word to us, *whosoever believeth in me shall never die*, not dye indeed and throughly, that death should rule over him or plague him: And againe yet further, *The* q *gates of hell shall not prevaile* against his holy body: And if not all the power of Hell the terriblest enemy, then not the gates of sin, nor of death, nor of the grave, can corrupt the Saints, for these are strong confederates, and either prevaile or are vanquisht together; these words are faithfull and true, and are given to Faith to lay up and keepe safely for the Saints advantage; if ye desire to know what use faith makes of them, the last point will declare it whereunto I now proceed.

Reas. 2.

Psal. 110.1.

John 11.26.

Matth. 16.18. q *Porta inferi peccatum est, & peccati regnum, ex quo adimus ad inferos.* Aret. Mont. lib. Ios. p. 108.

3. *Faith secures the Saint of Gods gracious presence and of his immunities from the evils of death and the grave.* It is the voice of faith every word of it. *Thou wilt not leave &c.* see how boldly and peremptorily it speaks, *My flesh shall rest in hope* though it now be laid in the dust, or more neerely to the letter, *My flesh shall dwell confidently, or in confidence and security*; Not once fearing deaths terrors, nor the graves spight.

Doct. 3.

שכן לבטח

ſpight. And why ſo daring thou holy one? Faith brings in evidences, and ſecures the ſoule of life, in the midſt of death, and of ſalvation in the very pit of corruption; ſo that not only the holy child Jeſus, but all Gods holy children are thus bold with God as to ſay, Thou wilt not leave our ſoules in hell, &c.

Q. But how comes faith to give this ſecurity to the Saints?

A. I ſhall anſwer this, and it ſhall ſuffice at this time, for the doctrinall part of this truth. There are two notable acts or effects of faith, that muſt needs work invincible confidence againſt the mighty powers of darkneſſe, where ever they appeare, and by them the Saints are ſo well eſtabliſhed.

1. Ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων. Heb. 11. 1.

1. A realizing and evidencing effect of faith there is, which gives ſubſiſtence to things which we yet but hope for, and evidence to that glory which fleſh and blood cannot ſee: thus the Apoſtle commends faith, *It is the ſubſtance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not ſeene.* Now to conſider duly this work of faith, two things muſt be noted.

1. The object expreſſed in two termes. Firſt, things hoped for, ſuch as are not actually ſubſiſting, nor preſent to ſenſe. Secondly, things not ſeene, which though they have an actuall preſent being, yet are not open to ſight.

2. The worke of faith about theſe, which is double. Firſt, thoſe things which yet have no actuall ſubſiſtence, it makes really to ſubſiſt unto the ſoule, therefore is it called the ſubſiſtence of them, becauſe it gives them being to the heart, when yet they are not in themſelves. Secondly, thoſe things which actually are, but are not ſeene by men, faith makes them ſo evident and apparent unto the Saint, as if he looked on them with his eyes. I will give inſtance of ſome things touching the preſent caſe, and apply the work of faith to them, and then let any judge whether the Saint have not cauſe enough to be confident againſt death gaſtly terrors.

1. Things hoped for, and not actually ſubſiſting are ſuch

ſuch as theſe. Firſt, Incorruption to be put upon our corruptible. Secondly, reſurrection from the grave. Thirdly, viſion of God in his heavenly glory. Now the excellent worke of faith is to make theſe really to be to the ſoule in preſent, that how ever to ſight they are not, yet to faith they are: and what coward would not be confident againſt death, if he had the reſurrection really preſent with him before hand? Indeed without this death may ſwallow up a man: It is *Davids* word, *Except I had believed to ſee the goodneſſe of the Lord in the Land of the Living*, alas what would have become of me? I might have fainted and periſhed for ever. Pſal. 27. 13.

2. Things not ſeene, yet actually being, are ſuch as theſe. 1. Gods being the cauſe of all. 2. Gods union with, relation to, and love of his Son the head-ſaint and all his beleeving members. 3. Gods abſolute dominion over death and hell, &c. All which though they be in preſent, yet are not ſeene with men, and therefore are neglected, but faith gives as cleere a convincing demonſtration of them to the ſaint as if he did look upon them; that however before with *Eliſhas* ſervant he tremble, as a man, yet when faith hath opened his eyes and made him ſee God, and Chriſt inſeparably united to him, he is then ſecure and bold as a beleever. He now perceives there are more with him, than are againſt him, and therefore fooliſh were it, to feare death or the grave. 2 King. 6. 15. 17

2. An appropriating and a cloſing worke of faith there is, whereby what ever a man ſeeth, it is given to him and made his own: Faith doth but touch and take with God. To *believe Chriſt* and to *have* him is all one in the language of Gods Spirit: ſo to believe God, his power, wiſdome, and goodneſſe, is but to have them, to believe his union with us, love to us, zeale for us, protection over us, even in death, againſt death, is but to enjoy all this, and poſſeſſe the ſweetneſſe of it. It is regiſtred of thoſe holy worthies among many other great exploits, that by Faith *they obtained promiſes*; whether they were promiſes peculiar 1 John 5. 12. Hebr. 11. 33.

liar to themselves, or in common with other Saints, it matters not here; this it certaine, faith only gives possession of them. And is not this a notable ground of confidence and insultation over the grave, to have God and to have his Attributes, and to have his Son all ours, prest to do us good? To see Mines of gold, and no more but to see them, may maze the eye, but leave the man poore; to see and have all is that which maketh rich, and sets above contempt: for a close to this, were it only to see God, and to lose him, a man might be notwithstanding a scorne to death: But where reall subsistence, evidence, and propriety of an Almighty gracious arme concurres, that soule may laugh at the frownes of death, and terrors of the pit: All this doth faith secure to the Saint, well then may he be bold and say, in the grave shall my flesh dwell *confidently*, for thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruption: we have seene the weight of these golden truths. The use of them is next considerable, I shall adde from all but three words in generall for use, to convince, to counsell, and to comfort, and these as the former rules direct me.

Use 1. 1. Grant *holinesse* in the nature of it a conformity to the holy God, and in the vertue of it, the only preserving embalme from dereliction in death, and corruption in the grave; who and in what case art thou, unholy soule? look on, and be convinced of thy sinne, and of thy misery.

1. Of thy sin and be ashamed: Is holinesse the image of the glorious God, are the beauties of it the splendor arising from the confidence of all graces? It is sin then to want it, uglinesse and basenesse to be a graceless man; the Blackmore is not more unlike to, nor more despised of the fairest creature, than thou art of God; Amos 9.7. *Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me*, said the Lord to an ungodly seed. O that I could let thee see thy selfe in Gods glasse, how wouldest thou hide thy face? Whose image and superscription beareth thou, ungodly sinner? No other reply can be made but the *Devils*, nothing appeares upon thee

but

but ſin, and ſin is nothing elſe but the *Devill in perſpective*, or in his naturall image; children of the devill is the proper name that our Lord ſtamps upon ungodly men; and rightly his ſeed are they termed both for their birth, and likeneſſe; if the confluence of ſinne make up the Devils image, vile wretch beat this upon thy heart, if it be Gods command to be holy, it is thy curſed ſin to be unholy, and if holineſſe ariſe from the concurrence of all grace, helliſh ſinner, thou whoſe nature is inconſiſtent with any one grace, or the reliſh of it, ſee thy ſin, thy ſelfe.

2. Of thy miſery be convinced, and be confounded; if holineſſe only be the preſervative againſt doleſull deſertions in deadlihead, and corruption in the pit, what will become of thee, unholy wretch? Haſt thou other embalmes prepared againſt that day? take what thou canſt: fill thy ſoule with vaine hopes, and whoriſh perfumes of mercy, get for thy carkaſe the [1] royall oyntment, that beſeemes Kings, after that wrap thy ſelfe in Sear-clothes, and then be wound up in a ſheet of Lead, and hew a Sepulchre out of the rock to lye ſafely in: And ſhall theſe commend thy ſoule to God? or preſerve thy body from putrefaction? Sinne will ſpoile theſe ointments and eat thorow all theſe fences; The ſoule, the body, yea the *name of the wicked ſhall rot. Shalt thou raigne*, ſaith God to *Coniah, becauſe thou cloſeſt thy ſelfe in Cedar?* Alas ſin will ſpoile Cedar pales, one ſimple pale of holineſſe were better then all, but that thou hateſt; thou ſhalt therefore ſtinke alive, and ſtink dead: Thy ſoule is a forſaken thing, left of God to the ſpoile of Devils, and thy body ſhall rot in the priſon whither thou goeſt, untill both be clapt together into hell, A curſe ſhalt thou be and an abomination for ever, for thou art unholy.

2. As thou art an enemy to holineſſe, ſo no leſſe art thou to God himſelfe: ſay then that the holy one is Gods favourite, that God will never leave him to be a prey to death, nor give him up a ſpoile unto corruption; what is this to an unholy ſoule, hating God, and hated of him?

[1] *Regale unguentum appellatum, quoniam Parthorum Regibus temperatur.* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 13. c. 2. Prov. 10. 7. Jer. 22. 15.

It is ſin more grievous to neglect and ſlight the Lord that is ſo gracious and faithfull to his people, as not to give them to the leaſt diſadvantage under death: And judgement ſhall be aggravated to the weight of ſinne, God will certainly relinquiſh the ungodly wretch in all thoſe deadly evils whereinto his ſin hath led him; he ſhall not have a ſmile of his countenance, nor the leaſt work of grace from his hand, nor hope of recovering out of the dungeon, but he that is ſoveraigne of death and hell ſhall give him up to the tormentors, he ſhall paſſe the deadly ſentence, depart thou curſed, the tempeſt of his wrath ſhall drive him, he ſhall ſmite him, not only into the place of Dragons and of death, but into the place of Devils, where the everlaſting arme of vengeance doth for ever torment the unholy crew that are deſcended thither.

Mat. 25. 41.

3 Unholy ſinner, know this, thou art as contrary to faith, as to God and holineſſe, and thy unbeliefe makes thee a perfect ſinner and perfectly miſerable: thou canſt want no ſin that wanteſt faith, unbeliefe is the root of all, and binds on all in guile, in power, and defilement, neither can faith more ſecure the gracious preſence of God, and ſweet privilledges in death unto the Saint, then unbeliefe doth make ſure the wrath and curſe of God, the plagues of death and hell to the ungodly man: They are deadly words, *He that beleeveth not is condemned already, He that beleeveth not ſhall never ſee life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.* The *unbelieving ſhall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone*: Theſe dreadfull things thy unbeliefe ſecures to thine unholy ſoule. What inſcription leaveſt thou upon thy Tombe-ſtone when thou goeſt downe into the pit? *Unholineſſe, ungodlineſſe, unbeliefe*, there muſt be alſo *death, rottenneſſe*, and *everlaſting perdition*. What is thy Epitaph, Here lyeth an *unholy* and *unbelieving* man? There alſo will God write, *A Childe of death, of corruption, and of hell.* I ſpeak not theſe things as a Judge unto you, O ye unholy ſoules, (The Lord awaken you and keepe you from this bitter portion) but as a meſ-

John 3. 18. 36.

Rev. 21. 8.

ſenger

lenger from God to warne you, that ye may yet consider the things that concerne your peace: but if not, as a friend to mourne over you, because you are going into everlasting captivity, and to destruction never to be repaired: but I would rather counsell than reprove or terrifie. And thereunto I now descend.

Saving counsell will not hurt but helpe, given rightly, and well taken from the truths precedent: Brethren I exhort you in the name of the Lord, O that ye would obey, be wise for your selves, and provide for soules and bodies against the day of parting, that in the day of darknesse ye may have light, and neither sting of death, nor stench or Rottennesse of the grave may fester your soules, or make your bodies an abomination unto God: Earthy provisions of Embalme, winding sheet, and Coffin will not profit, but heavenly will fence against all corruption; what then is to be done? Use 2.

Q.

The advise which the text directs to give Soveraigne against the Malignity of death I shall dispatch in three words: obey them, and ye are above the grave. A.

1. Make sure of being in Christ, the Head-Saint, or in another phrase, *put ye on the Lord Jesus*, clad your selves with him before ye lye downe in the dust, he is ornament, and Muniment, for comlinesse that ye be not naked, and for defence that nothing can hurt you, the grave cannot corrupt the body, that he clothes: Beleeve in him truly and ye have him for life, and food and rayment, & wealth, and strong Bulwarke against the attempts of your most dreadfull enemies: see a little more narrowly, what a fence hee hath about him that abides in Christ: The Father, and the comforter, are alwayes with the Son, so that have him, and have all: Christ is the Comforter close at the heart, the sonne Head, and God the Father thy Rock; thy strength, thy glory round about thee. Can death terrifie, or the grave Rot these, and drive them away? then Maiest thou feare too; but hell and death tremble before the Lord: It is enough, Christian, it is enough to see thy selfe in Christ, he hath tryed the arme of death, and

Rom. 13. 14.

: Ὁ πεφυτευμένος ἐχει περιλαμβανόμενον τὸν πνεῦμα χριστοῦ· ἀσφαλὴς, ἀπερίσπαστος· ἀπρόσκοπος. Joh. 14. 26. Eph. 1. 22. Psal. 18. 1.

power of the grave, & hath ſubdued them to himſelfe, and laid them under the feet of his beleeving members. If thou be yet without him, poore ſoule, thou art naked, and expoſed to the fury of death and the pit, be adviſed therefore, and give no ſleepe to thine eyes, nor ſlumber to thine eyelids untill thou canſt ſay, Chriſt is mine, and I am his: An humbled, ſelfe-judging, ſelfe-abaſing, and ſelfe-denying ſoule cannot come to him and be caſt out; and if received ſecured for ever; As ſoone may that holy ſonne be deſerted of God, and made a prey to the powers of darkneſſe, as thy ſoule left in hell, or thy body given to ſee corruption in the pit: Onely be ſure to immure thy ſelfe in Chriſt, and thou art ſet about with walls of Salvation.

Ioh.6.37.

2. Next to this ſtate of incorruption in the head provided, care muſt be taken to bee incorruptible in thy ſelfe, then art thou ſafe againſt deathes deſtructions: As in the laſt reſurrection, our corruptible muſt put on incorruption eminently, that there ſhall not be a poſſibility of dying againe, ſo to make a way to that, in our firſt reſurrection to the life of God, there is an Incorruption by way of inchoation that muſt bee attained unto, which maketh us ſafe againſt the deſtructive power of the grave, though ſhee doe now dye: This is that holineſſe ſo much commended, concerning which, This is my counſell, take care mightily, for the Being, and perfection of Holineſſe in thee.

1 Cor.15.53.

1. That it be in thee indeed; no forme or ſhew of Holineſſe will doe good in this matter; Holineſſe in truth is the onely ſacred preſerving thing, the reality whereof muſt appeare in the rice, nature, and fruits of it. 1. For its Rice, ſee it be truly from the *Holy one*, from that Holy-ſon the head of the Church, from the holy Father the head of Chriſt, and from the holy ſpirit the ſame of both, all is but the *thrice holy God*, no Holineſſe reall but from him.

1 Ioh.2.20.

2. For its nature that it beare conformity with his Holineſſe, that God may appeare to bee in thee of a truth in his Image and peculiar worke: bee as like as may be to the Holy one, heart to his heart, pure and heavenly.

Eph.4.24.

3. For

5. For its fruits, that in thoughts, word, and wayes the power of holineſſe may give out it ſelfe, to bias, and turne them all to the holy one; This deſtroyes ſinne, and brings forth fruits to none but to God: O that this golden oyle might runne in all thy veines, and ſoake thy bones, and fill thy bowells, and clad thy fleſh about, death durſt not hurt thee, nor Rottenneſſe ſpoyle thee:

2. Let it not content onely to be holy, but perfect holines in the feare of God, to the moſt excellent beauties of it: ſee to the reall concurrence of all graces in thy ſoule, as to the ſweet order and diſpoſition of them; Harmony is among graces, let not ſinne put them out of Ranke: Bee it thy dayly ſtudy and exerciſe to hold out the ſplendor of all, Shine in Imitation of thy God, ſtrive to reach his glory in thy wayes, Be holy as he is holy, even to ſinnes utter deſtruction, corruptibility dyeth with that: Aime at this marke and follow after it, let ambition runne to the higheſt to bee like to God; the more holy the more incorruptible by ſin, and the more ſecure from the Malignity of death: when the Apoſtle would demonſtrate firmely the incorruptibility of Chriſt in the grave, he urgeth this authority, God ſaid on this wiſe, *I will give you the ſure Mercies of David.* In the prophet it is the *ſhewn mercies*, in the rendring of the Apoſtle *the ſacred or holy things of David*: nothing is miſtaken in the matter; The holy favours, which God by Covenant gave to *David* the Type, to Chriſt the true head of his confederates, were a ſure guard to him againſt corruption, the ſame are the Saints indowments catried all in holineſſe, and will be their fence impenitrable by the curſe of the grave. O then bee Holy, be holy, brethren, bee glorious in holineſſe, let it bee your garment now, your winding ſheet when you lye downe, it will be glory in your life and victory in death it ſelfe:

2 Cor. 7. 1.

Eſay. 55. 3. הנאמנים חסדי דוד Act. 13. 34. τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά

3. Let faith alſo have its perfect worke; if you provide well for your ſelves againſt the evills of the dark habitation, and ſhadow of death. Care in this matter I would commend mainely about two things: 1. To pitch upon the

the true object, the proper remedies and preſervatives againſt theſe deadly evills: 2. That the Acts of faith upon theſe be genuine and naturall to it, ſuch as may ſhew it to be Gods noble plant in the ſoule; theſe are the realizing, evidencing, and appropriating theſe ſaving receits unto the ſoule. 1. There be great and precious promiſes for ſalvation, in the midſt of the furious aſſaults of death and the pit, which have admirable vertue, if well applied, ſuch are theſe, *Dead men ſhall live, death ſhall be plagued* for killing, and *the grave deſtroyed* for devouring, and *whoſoever liveth and beleeveth in me ſhall never dye*: Theſe perhaps conſidered in the letter may ſeeme either not to be, or not to be evident, or not to be a mans owne, but things remote or farre of. Now let ſaving faith come and worke upon theſe, it will make all the ſweetneſſe of theſe to bee in preſent, which ſeemeth either not to be, or to be long hereafter to come, it will make them evident which otherwiſe cannot be ſeene, and it will give poſſeſſion to a ſoule of all the goodneſſe of them, unto which otherwiſe it is but a ſtranger: what a ſweet ſecurity is this to a poore ſoule, to live in death, to vex and weare out the grave, and never truly dye or be corrupted? this ſafe-guard will faith give out of Gods promiſes, neither can law or curſe prejudice or diſannuall it: beleeve, O then beleeve the promiſes.

Eſay 26.19. Hoſ.13 14. Ioh.11,26.

2. God infinite, inviſible, immortall, all-powerfull and only wiſe, is the Rock, the fortreſſe, the Sanctuary of his Saints; all his attributes ſhelter them in every ſtorme, fence them againſt fiery darts, and hide them from the bloody purſuit of that mercileſſe one that hath the power of death: let faith worke mightily on him alſo, to compaſſe the Almighty, to make him ſeene that is inviſible, to give propriety and intereſt in him that is immortall, wrap thy ſelfe by faith in God, put on his attributes, as garments of ſalvation while thou liveſt, and keepe them about thee for grave-clothes when thou dyeſt, God will not diſdaine to be thy ſafety in the pit: and then death muſt deſtroy his glory and corruption eat thorough it, before they can come

Prov.18.10. Eſay 8.14. Heb.11.27.

come to doe miſchiefe unto thee : Stagger not then ; but be ſtrong in faith giving glory unto God.

3. The ſon of God manifeſt in the fleſh the *Prince-Saint*, given to bee the head of his Church, is deathes *king* and the Graves *commander*, they are his conquered captive ſlaves, he keepes them ſhut up under lock and key ; he *hath the keyes of hell & of death*, were we then but his confederats and member-Saints, how might we laugh at the frownes and ſpite of death, and ſlight the venome of the grave ? Faith will accompliſh this for you, unite you to him, cauſe you to ſee him, make you his, and him yours : ye therefore that beleeve in God, beleeve alſo in him ; Hee carrieth God with him, where he is, God is : He makes good all promiſes, in him they are *yea* and *amen*, granted and performed. Make ſure of him and have all : Faith hath, by gracious dignation, as it were a command over him, hee will no where faile it : Faith called him to his three companions in the fiery furnace, and he brought them out in ſafety, not ſo much as the ſmell of fire was upon them ; and no leſſe will it draw him to accompany his Saints in the deadly habitations, where he will keepe them, and whence, he will never leave untill hee raiſe them out and no ſmell of the grave ſhall be upon them. Obey theſe counſells, exerciſe faith in theſe, and live above death, yee ſhall never ſee corruption : but overcome death when yee dye, and triumph over the grave, while ye live in it, and ſing that triumphant ſong when ye awake, O death, where is thy Sting, O grave where is thy victory ? &c.

Revel. 1.18.

Ioh 14.1.

Dan.3.25.

Laſtly, the ſweet comfort of theſe golden truthes may not be concealed from the Saints ; the Lord hath given ſpeciall charge, O comfort, comfort them, eſpecially his afflicted ones, that are oppreſſed either with the ſad thoughts of his abſence, or feares of the fury of theſe laſt enemies : I dare not with-hold the Cordialls provided for theſe ſick ſoules. 1. To you is comfort ſent that are ſick of Love, that lye complaining of Gods abſence from you, or deſertion of you, that long for, Cry for, waite for his

Uſe 3.

returne, and presence, saying, O when will hee come and appeare to us? why doth hee leave and forsake our soules? Refraine from these complaints yee holy ones, God hath not left you, Then is a soule left indeed, when it hath no desires after God; but here is no feare of Gods forsaking you, while your soules are restlesse in longing after him; wipe away your teares and looke up, God is it neerer to you, than ye thinke: It was *Maries* case once, shee weepes for Christ, and all the while, he stands by her, and so is not unusuall with the Saints, that are selfe-suspicious, to thinke upon every uneven step of theirs, God to be gon; It may be sometimes his comforting presence may bee hid, and yet his sanctifying presence continueth to inlarge your soules in desires after him, this is then better for you than that; Grace more needfull for you than Comfort: know this, deare soules, God cannot, God will not leave you, when you are dead, and will hee forsake you while you are alive? He desires to have more trust from you upon his promise, *I will never leave you nor forsake you*, and you shall certainly receive more manifestations of love from him; quicken faith, where sence faileth, and be assured as soone may hee forsake Christ the *Head-Saint* (which is impossible) as you the *member-Saints*, whose soules delight in him: These good and comfortable words God speakes to your hearts, O receive them and be cheared, for they are true and faithfull.

Joh. 20. 15. 16.

Heb. 13. 5.

2. For you that are sick with feare, is comfort here prepared; ye that are of a trembling heart, God saith unto you, be strong; ye that are fearefull and shake at the terrors of the enemies of your salvation, be ye comforted; ye that often expresse your feares, one time or other we shall perish by the hand of sin, and bee given up to death and hell; O how terrible are the thoughts of death? how gastly the visage of the grave? woe unto us when wee must descend into the pit: And why so fearefull poore Saints? O that yee would make use of faith now, and take in the consolations of God. Can promises chear the heart more then wine?

Esay 35. 4.

can

can they ſecure invincibly againſt the power of ſin, of death of hell? All theſe are yours. Hath Chriſt vanquiſht death and the grave? hath he made the gates of hell to breake aſunder, and conquer'd all the powers of darkneſſe? Doth he now laugh at death, and ſhake terribly the grave? He is yours, his holineſſe yours, his conqueſt yours, his triumph yours, and his dominion yours: Death and hell lye at his feet, and at your feet alſo: O lift up your heads, and rejoyce ye holy ones in this lot and behold yet more: Can the Almighty forgive ſin? can hee blot out tranſgreſſion? can he undoe the paines and chaines of death? can he ſtop the grave from devouring? and bring the prey out of its Mouth, out of its Bowells? can he chaine the devill, and make hell not to be his? This God is yours, yee that have obtained that holy and precious faith, ye are his holy ones, and can he leave your ſoules in hell, or ſuffer his holy ones to ſee corruption? ye will take up better thoughts of God, and be comforted againſt your feares, if ye let faith worke thoroughly on him. Bee bold and ſpeake confidently, challeng the King of terrors as the Saints have done their terrible enemies before you. *The Lord God will helpe mee, therefore I ſhall not bee confounded. I have ſet my face like a flint, I know I ſhall not be aſhamed. He is neere that juſtifieth me, who will contend with me?* will ſin, will death will the grave? *let us ſtand together. Behold the Lord God ſhall helpe me, who ſhall condemne me?* ſhall theſe adverſaries lead mee in triumph? *Loe they all ſhall wax old as a garment, the moth ſhall eate them up*: poore death, poore grave, the moth ſhall fight with you and conſume you: ſhould the ſaints then feare to encounter with you? God will deliver you into their hands, and like old moth-eaten garments ſhall they teare you and come out. Live then above feares yee Saints, in the ſhadow of death, feare no evill, for God is with you, Leape for joy, and be glad at the remembrance of his Holineſſe. Eſay 50.7. 8. 9.

3. To cloſe all, but a word to the congregation of ſaints both ſick and well, conſider your calling and be comforted

over all the crosse blasts that may meet you in the world, ye are Gods annoynted, his holy ones, holinesse is your Cognizance, which as it hath the neerest likenesse and is the Image of God, so it hath the highest place of dignity next to God. Holinesse sets up *Iehova* above all, that is his glory wherein he is exalted above all creatures. None can abase the holy one of *Israell*, next to him is his holy child, Iesus, Holinesse advanceth him unto his Fathers throane; and in this head are all the Saints, Holinesse makes them sit upon his throane. Be glad then and rejoyce in what God hath done for you. He hath created you *Holinesse to the Lord*; Mighty Princes hath God made you, over sin, death, the grave and hell; The powers of darknesse may puff at you, but ye shall trample them under foot. Sit downe then every of you, glory in your portion; and in the thoughts of insuing graplings with death and the grave, sing with *David* with Christ, *My heart is glad, my glory rejoyceth, my flesh also shall dwell confidently: For thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, neither wilt thou give thy Holy one to see corruption*: This joy, This Honour have all his Saints. Praise we the Lord: Amen.

**Thus of the Text.**

BRITISH MUSEUM

# Vſefull obſervations upon the life and death of Mr. *William Crompton*, the Reverend and faithfull Paſtor of the Church of *Lanceſton* *Cornwall.*

I Have another text, and another Sermon for you, before I diſmiſſe you, the one is our deare and Reverend Brother now interred, the other will be fruitfull Collections from his life and death imitable by us all: I confeſſe my judgement is, that theſe Pulpit-ſpeeches of the dead as generally uſed, doe very much hurt in the hearts of many, yet I dare not be injurious to the Holy, to conceale that honour which God himſelfe hath caſt upon them; In the preſent what I ſpeake, I ſhall ayme it more to your inſtruction, than the deads commendation: though it cannot but make his name a ſweet ſavour. I omit the uſuall preface of place, birth, and parentage: I begin with him, where I find him beginning with himſelfe, even from the firſt evidence which he conceived he had of his intereſt in Chriſt. And all that I ſhall note of him will be under theſe two conſiderations. 1. As a member of Chriſt. 2. As a miniſter of Chriſt.

1. Touching him as a Chriſtian, that ye may ſee I ſpeake not by rote, I may let the world know, that not many houres before his death being under ſome conflicts, and not able much to ſpeake, he delivered unto me his *Boſome-day-booke*, wherein he ſaid he had ript up his heart (and ſo hee had indeed) deſiring me to returne after ſome conſideration my judgement of him and it; I did ſo, as I could; As for him I am perſwaded ſuch thorough dealing with a mans owne

heart as was there diſcovered, cannot be expected but from a ſoule in Chriſt. It pleaſed the Lord to ſpeake peace to him in the Anſwer: And for the Booke, being as his conſcience the booke of ſecrets, I thought it fit, it ſhould have its funerall with himſelfe, wherewith he truſted me, and I did ſee it conſumed before I ſaw him buried.

Now though many things therein are to be concealed under a ſacred tye, I know it will be faithfulneſſe to commend ſome things thence of publicke uſe, that they may doe good to others: No other ſhall I touch, and thoſe I ſhall divide into two branches, 1. Such notable things as concerned himſelfe in the way of Chriſtianity. 2. Such as note his carriage and reſpect to others.

I. Concerning himſelfe, I find theſe things remarkable under his owne hand, which may teſtifie the life of Chriſt, and the power of godlineſſe.

1. A care to looke for the beginning of his life to God, or at leaſt the firſt evidence of it which ſatisfied his ſelf-ſuſpecting-heart: and this he notes to bee in a ſickneſſe which God laid on him *September* 1631. at which time it ſeemes ſin appeared more gaſtly to him, and Chriſt more deſirable, in that he begins his reckoning of returning from that terme. I mentioned this, not that I thinke he was not converted till then (as hath been miſreported) for he gave good proofe of God in him long before that time, but I aymed only at this uſe in it for our ſelves, to make us wary how we truſt our conceited converſions; A ſtorme may ſhake us out of all our ſelfe-confidences, nay make us miſtruſt whither any thing be true in us at all, it is good therefore to looke carefully to the laying of our firſt foundation in Chriſt.

2. Upon this ſhaking an exact ſcrutiny and ſearch of his heart and wayes, from the firſt time that hee could remember unto his preſent ſickneſſe: The birth of the body of ſinne with him, lively deciphered, his education at home, his life at the Univerſitie, and his whole courſe in ſeverall places where ſince he lived.

3. A ſtrict and ſevere marking of every ſinne, whereof he found

found himſelfe guilty by nature, or by Act from his Childhood to his very entrance into the grave deſcribed, as they were committed againſt every Commandement.

4. A very deep aggravation of all theſe ſins upon his own ſoule, from knowledge, from mercies, from rods that God had uſed as barres in the way to ſin, and yet he had leapt over them, and that with the bittereſt expreſſions that ſin can bee ſtiled by, he ſpared not ſinne in himſelfe.

5. A bitter conteſtation againſt hatred of and ſorrow for ſin, in the diſcovery whereof, me thinkes hee wrote as if his pen had bin dipt in teares of blood. O thoſe Impartiall ſelfe-judgements, diſmall tremblings of heart, and grievous burdens of ſoule, under which he groaned to the laſt!

6. An unſatisfiable hunger and thirſt after Chriſt, and the manifeſtation of God in him to his poore ſoule; His written pantings and breathings after God, did imitate *Davids*, the panting Hart did not more bray for waters, nor the thirſty ground more gape for moiſture, than his ſoule did, to receive ſome drops of mercy in Chriſt.

7. A moſt gracious bent of heart in moſt earneſt deſires to be as much purged, as pardoned, and that ſinne might be as much ſubdued, as forgiven, peace any way did not content him but peace with grace, and that God would ſo ſpeake peace, that he might not turne againe to folly.

8. Conſtant uſe of meanes ordinary, and extraordinary, for the mortification of ſinne and growth in grace, and amongſt the reſt monethly faſting and humiliation, wherein he found no ſmall advantage.

9. An Holy indignation at himſelfe, and revenge upon himſelfe for time unfruitfully ſpent, wherein hee conceived he neither did, nor received good: Godly ſorrow wrought much of this in him, and hee loſt not by it, growing more watchfull, and more skilfull to improve all ſeaſons of Good, and to redeeme time that was loſt.

10. Unwearied perſeverance in this godly thriving courſe, even to a few dayes before his death, untill weakneſſe laid him in his bed, the forerunner of his grave. See the man and

judge ſeverely, are not theſe the Characters of a Chriſtian? Thus he continued a ſelfe-baſing, and a Chriſt exalting ſoule. Thus he converſed within.

2. Touching his Chriſtian deportment to others, I ſhall in ſhort declare it in this threefold reſpect which hee had to others.

1. To the Churches of Chriſt, both at home and in forraigne parts, an exact obſervation of all memorable occurrences both good and evill in them, that he might bee ſutably affected with them, either praying or praiſing God for them. Deepe thoughts of ſorrow he expreſſed upon Germanies deſolations, and great feares of the powring out of Gods indignation upon our owne Land, ſtrong Cryes and Teares to turne away judgements, joy and thankeſgivings upon hopes of refreſhing to the Churches of Chriſt among us, and one thing among the reſt I may not paſſe, when he enters upon the Regiſter of this yeares mercies, hee begins it with this title in Capitall letters, *ANNUS MIRABILIS*. 1641. and ſo it is, A wonderfull yeare of Gods mercies to *England*.

2. To his fellow Chriſtians that were of his flock or otherwiſe, a ſtrict notice of their weakneſſes, troubles in mind, temptations, or other afflictions in divers kindes, that hee might have a fellow-feeling as a Chriſtian, and paſtorall bowels as a Miniſter to them, to bee weake with them that were weake, and tempted with them that were tempted, that he might helpe to beare their burdens with them, and ſo fulfill the law of Chriſt.

3. To his enemies it was his reach to bee like minded to Chriſt, to doe them good for all their evill, and to ſeek it for them with his whole heart. O ſweet petitions, and ſtrong cries have been regiſtred for them, that have deſpited his Miniſtry, and reviled his perſon. I hope God will remember them, if they belong unto him, if not their ſtorming at his goodneſſe, and the relation of it, will argue but the greater malignity of their ſin, and leave them in a more inexcuſable condition. If this be the Chriſtians Cognizance to love them

that

that hate him, and pray for them that despitefully use him, let him be well accounted among the assembly of the Holy.

2. If we consider him as a Minister of Christ, these things I have observed that may not be unfruitfull to us, and were no blots in him.

1. His humble and heart-afflicting confession, that at his first entrance into the Ministry, his aime was more to seeke himselfe and his own, than to serve Christ, and seeke his glory. It may be no needlesse or unfruitfull *Item* to his brethren in the Ministery, we that live may doe well to take an hint from hence, for a search of our ends in undertaking this sacred function; It is rare if we be not deepe in this transgression; and if so, it is no shame to be plaine in our confessions, and deepe in our Humiliations for it: our gaine it will be if we awake, and in sincerity now begin to serve the Lord Christ.

2. His selfe-condemning for the best of his performances in the worke of his Ministry, looking upon himselfe as an unprofitable servant in all: Such passages were usuall in his owne day-booke. This day I preached weakly, carnally, with much corruption, *&c.* O how good is it to be a selfe-denying Man, a selfe-denying Master? But Lord, how hard is it to have any thing and deny himselfe in all, yet must we strive.

3. The good proofe which he made of his Ministry in the time allotted him; I shall but touch the evidence of this in these particulars:

1. In his abilities humane and divine; His workes have shewn this; and among others his worth approved by that famously learned King *James*, who being called before his Majesty as a delinquent, in delivering a false view of some of S. *Augustines* workes, was yet dismissed for his sufficiency with a Scholars reward: This may silence detractors in that respect, but his proficiency in the knowledge of the mysterie of Christ, was eminent, however he judged himselfe nothing in all, & in the sound judgement of truth a Mountain not a reede to be shaken, as one said of *Basil.*

ὄρος ἢ καλαμ. *Greg. Nyss. in Orat. in laud. Fra. Basil.*

2. In his diligent and indefatigable study to doe Christs worke carefully and faithfully, as becomes the Worke of

ſuch a Maſter, he feared the curſe of doing Gods worke negligently, it is good thus to feare.

3. In his tender bowels and affection to thoſe ſoules over whom God had ſet him: How did he watch for them, pray for them, and carry them in his heart daily with deſire to ſave them? poore ſoules ye know not your loſſe.

4. In his conſtant labours and travailes to forme Chriſt in the hearts of his people, by unwearied, faithfull, powerfull preaching of the Goſpell: In this way as hee was laborious, ſo he was skilfull too; (*b*) As he ſaid of one *Barlaam* a Martyr, he was a good Archer, he ſhot his arrowes in the ayre, mighty words, and broke the Divels rankes. No leſſe hath he wounded, ſpoiled, and ſcattered the devils forces, by the effectuall preaching of Chriſt in the place where God hath ſet him.

5. In his fervent deſire for a good proviſion for his people after his departure; that a Paſtor after Gods heart might be ſent to feed them.

(*b*) Καθὰ πρὸ ὀξυτῆς, &c. καὶ ἐπὶ τῦ μακαρίε Βαρλαὰμ. ἀπὸ φίλων ῥημάτων, ὡσπερ, ἀπὸ βέλων πεπόμων συνέχες τὸ τῦ διαβόλε στρατόπεδον, *Chryſ. to. 5. in orat. in Barl. Mart.*

In theſe wayes was his life, ſince he began to live, wherein he approved himſelfe an holy Man, and an holy Miniſter, labouring to perfect Holineſſe in himſelfe and others; He was no leſſe a ſaint dying than living: See his deſcent to the grave.

Perſeverance crownes a Chriſtian, it was his glory to bee perfected in the ſpirit as to begin in it. I ſhall but note theſe things toward his end.

1. His patient ſubmiſſion unto, and welcomming of Gods rod unto him. It was his choyce, Love and chaſten me, afflict and purge me my gracious God.

2. Holy care to make good uſe of Gods corrections, to conſider his wayes, to heare the rod, and him that had appointed it, and to learne obedience by the things he ſuffered.

3. Great ſtruglings under bitter temptations, made ſomething heavier by his diſeaſe, yet Grace was ſufficient in the midſt of all, and by faith he obtained victory in Chriſt, glorying over his Tormentors.

4. Conſtant profeſſion of faith, at his death ſealing the ſaving truths of Chriſt which he had preached, living and dying

ing in the love of them: and whileſt ſweet counſells and hearty prayers to, and for them that were converſant about him: as for the Church of God, he ſpent his ſhort breathing time, untill his ſpirit returned to God that gave it. Caſt all up, and the ſumme in Charity muſt be, in life and death hee was Gods holy one, therefore will not God leave his ſoule in hell, nior ſuffer him to ſee corruption in the pit. Let me but touch our duties toward him, in three words and I have done.

1. Let us lament him, there is cauſe if we know our loſſe; It is *Davids* cry, *Helpe Lord, for the godly man ceaſeth*: So many gaps are made for wrath to breake in, as there are holy men taken from us. Here is dead an holy man, and an holy Miniſter. It was *Jeruſalems* trembling, when good Prophets were cut off; It ſhould not be our rejoycing. The buriall of a Nurſe with *Jacob* hath a ſad Monument, her Sepulchre is called *Allon Bachuth*, the oke of weeping, ſhe dyed not unlamented; A *Pillar* of ſorrow is raiſed for *Rachel* his wife upon her grave. Nay, *Iacob* himſelfe an old Saint dying among ſtrangers wants no mourners, at the floore of *Arad* the Egyptians made ſuch a bitter lamentation that the place beares the name *Abel Mitſraim*, the mourning of the Egyptians. Naturall affections become men, gratious affections ſhould be in Chriſtians (though not to mourne as without hope) yet to mourne greatly at the fall of ſuch a Saint, ſuch a Miniſter, ſuch a Pillar in the houſe of God.

Pſal. 12, 1.

Gen. 35. 8. 19, 20.

Gen. 50. 11.

2. Let us Imbalme him, at leaſt ſpread his owne confection on him, his good name is a precious oyntment, Holineſſe hath made it ſo. Give him his due then, as *David* to that Worthy, *Dyed Abner as a foole dyeth?* So ſay wee, dyed this Holy one, as a ſinner, as a ſot? no but as a Saint, giving up his ſpirit in Faith into the hands of a faithfull Redeemer. We may ſet it on his grave here lyes an Holy one.

Eccleſ. 7. 1.

2 Sam 3. 33.

3. Let us imitate and follow him, as he followed Chriſt: as he ſaid in his ſpeech upon a dead Martyr, (c) we come not ſo much to commend him, as to bee bettered by him, in the imitation of his right wayes. Heare Chriſtians and Miniſters, there is a Copy for you both in this deceaſed Saint: ye his flocke

(c) ἵνα ἴνα ἀκροαταὶ γένωμεθα τῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀλλ' ἵνα μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα τῶν αὐτοῦ κατορθωμάτων. *Chryſoſt. ibid.*

flock and hearers, write after him in ſelfe-examination, ſearch, judgement and aggravation of ſinnes, no leſſe in tryall of Graces, and of your converſion: Walke after him in godly Sorrow, Repentance, Faith, Holineſſe, and Times redemption: Good fruit will then appeare in your lives, and ſweet comfort in perſeverance to death; Keepe ye a day-booke alſo for your ſoules, that your accompts may be in readineſſe, when your Lord ſhall come.

And we his Brethren in the Miniſtry may not diſdaine to be followers, where we have not beene leaders; let us now bethinke our ſelves, that we are called to ſeeke Chriſts and not our own; Digge we by ſtudy into the Myſtery of Chriſt, preach we the Goſpell painfully, faithfully, conſtantly: Love we the ſoules for which Chriſt hath dyed, and account it our glory to be ſacrificed upon the ſervice of their faith: ſo ſhall we dye peaceably in conſcience of our innocency from the blood of ſoules; *And when the chiefe ſhepheard ſhall appeare, wee ſhall receive a crowne of glory that fadeth not away.* To all and for a cloſe; Be ye holy, ſhall I ſay, as hee was holy? Nay, I ſet you an higher Copy, even as God is holy, ſtrive to reach it, though ye come ſhott in the truth, in the beauties of holineſſe; Ye heare your honour, Death and the Grave ſhall be your ſlaves, and yee Lords over them, while yee ſeeme to lye under their power. There is no feare of dereliction by God, nor corruption to betide you; Nothing can ſeparate betweene you and Chriſt, nor betweene Chriſt and God. After his ſufferings hee is entred into glory, and now is in the holieſt of all, appearing for you as your forerunner, yee alſo his *Member-Saints* ſhall follow him in this path of life, and when this darke vale ſhall be drawne aſide, then ſhall ye enter into the high and Holieſt place, to be perfected in the viſion of the *Thrice Holy God*, in whoſe preſence you ſhall have fulneſſe of joy, and at whoſe right hand you ſhall have pleaſures forevermore: All which the good Lord grant unto us, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

1 Pet. 5. 4.

*FINIS.*

A BRIEFE 2

# DISCOURSE OF THE TROVBLES BEGUN AT *FRANKE-ford* in Germany, *An. Dom.* 1554. ABOUT THE BOOKE OF COMMON PRAYER and Ceremonies, and continued by the Engliſh men there, to the end of Q. *Maries* Raign; in the which diſcourſe, the gentle Reader ſhall ſee the very originall and beginning of all the contention that hath been there, and what was the cauſe of the ſame.

Liturgies K Edw. 6 Ch. 1

First publiſhed in the yeare 1575. and now Reprinted according to the originall Copy, *Verbatim.*

HUMBLY PRESENTED TO THE View and conſideration of the moſt Honourable and High Court of PARLIAMENT; And the Reverend Divines of the intended enſuing Aſſembly.

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*For there is nothing hid that ſhall not be opened, neither is there a ſecret but that it ſhall come to light: If any man have eares to heare, let him heare.*

---

London Printed by *G. Biſhop*, and *R. White*, for *Tho: Underhill*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Bible in Woodſtreete. 1642.

# DISCOURSE

## OF THE TROY

## and Cerum

BRITISH MUSEUM

# THE PREFACE OF

## The firſt Publiſher of this Hiſt.

*To the Chriſtian Readers, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.*

*Such as doe well obſerve the variety of mens judgements about theſe matters of controverſie, and the ſuppoſed cauſes of the ſame, ſhall finde it a thing more than wonderfull to behold, and paſſing ſtrange to heare. But who ſo ſhall well weigh and conſider, what extream calamities and miſeries this broile hath*

*brought with it to many godly perſons which unfainedly feare God: The ſame muſt of force, as I thinke (if he have but one drop of humanity within him) draw forth deep and ſorrowfull ſighes from the heart, and teares from the eyes. To paſſe over ſundry, I will note but this one. Whereas in times paſt (both at* Pauls *Croſſe, and other places) the ſounds which were wont to be ſo ſweet, as might juſtly have moved the godly hearers to cry out with the Prophet* Eſay: O how beautifull are the feet of them which bring glad tydings of peace, &c. *Are now become commonly ſo ſowre and unſavoury, that inſtead of ſweetneſſe, is found little or nothing but wormwood and bitter gall. And yet I ſpeake not of ſuch, whoſe cruell ſcoffing, and unbridled natures, are too well known ſo far to exceed, as few (diſcreet and*

*wiſe*

wiſe in deed) can be much moved with any thing almoſt they either ſpeake or write: but even of thoſe I meane, whoſe Wiſedomes, Gravitie, and Learning, as the ſame claimeth by good right, due reverence to the perſons, becauſe of thoſe good gifts which God hath beſtowed upon them, ſo ſhould it alſo put them in minde (eſpecially in ſuch places) to uſe (me ſeemes) ſome other veine. And for ſo much as ſome impute the cauſe of all theſe troubles to the ambitious heads of certain ſpeciall perſons, who ſhould (as hath beene at Pauls Croſſe both publikely and very furiouſly declared) ſtirre up this ſtrife in the Church, for that they could not attaine to Biſhopricks when as other enjoyed them: Some alſo imputing it to the ſtrange Churches, as well beyond the ſeas, as here among us remaining, thereby to provoke the diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrates againſt them. And

By Dr. Yong, in Novemb. Anno, 1573.

Such as *D.* Elbowsome.

*And ſome ſuppoſing, yea, roaring out, that this hath happened by ſuch fantaſticall heads as can abide no platforme, but of their own deviſing: I have for theſe & ſuch like conſiderations thought good by a ſhort and briefe diſcourſe to let you ſee the very originall and beginning of all this miſerable contention, leaving nevertheleſſe to your diſcreet judgements, who (in theſe matters) are to be thought innocent, & who moſt to blame.*

M. *Mullins* in *October. an.* 1573

*And as one both of credit, learned, and of authority, thought it not only meet and expedient openly at* Pauls *Croſſe (in preſence of the honourable and worſhipfull there) to ſignifie unto them that ſuch a hot contention about theſe matters had been, but alſo noted the place where, and the time when: So I in this diſcourſe thought it needfull, (leſt happily that Honorable audience might*

*Francke-ford* the place in Q. *Maries* time.

*miſtake*

*miſtake the matter) to ſet forth by writing the very order, manner, and proceeding of the ſame: Following herein the ſteps of ſuch, whom God of his goodneſſe hath raiſed up at all times, and among all nations, to commit things to memory, which hath paſſed in Commonweales, who have with great freedome & liberty bin ſuffered to make manifeſt to the whole world the ill dealings even of Popes, Cardinals, Emperours, Kings and Princes; whereas (in this diſcourſe) the higheſt that I touch (and that with great griefe of heart) are (to my knowledge) but certain Biſhops, and therefore I hope the more to be born withall; beſeeching Almighty God, that as by theſe my poore ſimple travels, my meaning was not (either in contempt or ſeeking revenge) to provoke the farther diſpleaſures of the meaneſt: That ſo if*

*Platina, Paulus Jovius. Sleidein, Foxe, with many other.*

*it*

*it be his bleſſed will, the ſame may finde favour in the eyes of our Soveraigne L. the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſtie, and the right Honorable, whom it hath pleaſed him to place in high authoritie, for whoſe proſperitie and welfare it becommeth all true and faithfull ſubjects (as they are dutifully bound) moſt earneſtly to pray.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

The

# THE HISTORY.

AFter that it had pleased the Lord God to take away for our sins that Noble Prince of famous memory, King *Edward* the sixth, and had placed Q. *Mary* in his roome: Sundry godly men, as well Strangers, as of the English Nation, fled for the liberty of their Consciences, over the Seas, some into France, some into Flanders, and some into the high Countries of the Empire; and in the yeare of our Lord, 1554. and the 27. of June came *Edmund Sutton*, *William Williams*, *William Whitingham*, and *Thomas Wood*, with their companies, to the City of Frankford in Germany, the first Englishmen that there arrived to remaine and abide. The same night came one Master *Valerio Pullan*, Minister, unto their lodging, and declared how he had obtained a Church there in the name of all such as should come out of England for the Gospell, but especially from Glassenbury, which were all Frenchmen. Answer was made him, that as God was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrates hearts to shew the French such favour; even so, for so much as few of them un-

derſtood the French tongue, it would be ſmall commodity to them, or to ſuch as ſhould come afterward to joyne themſelves to that Church.

The next day they communed with Maſter *Morelio*, another Miniſter of the French Church; and alſo with Maſter *Caſtallio* a Senior of the ſame, (both of them godly and learned men) by their advice and counſell it was determined, that a Supplication ſhould be drawne out, and offered to the Magiſtrates, to know, firſt whether they would be contented, that not only the parties before named, but alſo all other Engliſh men that would repaire thither for the like cauſe, might through their favour be ſuffered ſafely to remaine within their City. This Supplication was ſubſcribed as well by the ſaid *Sutton*, *Wiſingham*, and the reſt of the Engliſhmen, as alſo by *Morellio*, *Caſtallio*, and one *Adrian* a Citizen there, with whom they lodged. And within three dayes after the offering up of their Supplication, they obtained their requeſts.

The eighth of July following, labour was made (by the counſell and advice of *Morellio* and *Caſtallio*, who during their lives ſhewed themſelves Fathers to all Engliſh men) to Maſter *John Glawberge* one of the chiefeſt Senators, for a place of Church, wherein they and all their Country-men might have Gods Word truly preached, and the Sacraments ſincerely miniſtred in their naturall tongue, who joyfully promiſed his furtherance, and that he alſo would move the whole Senate thereof, the which he did accordingly. And the 14. day of the ſame moneth it was granted that they ſhould have liberty to preach, and miniſter the Sacraments, in that Church which the Frenchmen had, the French one day, and the Engliſh another day, and upon the Sunday; to chooſe alſo their houres as they could agree among themſelves; but it was with this commandement, that the Engliſh ſhould not diſſent from the French men in doctrine, or ceremonies, leſt they ſhould thereby miniſter occaſion of offence; and willed farther, that before they entred their Church, they ſhould approve and ſubſcribe the ſame confeſſion of Faith that the French men had then preſented, and about to put in Print, to the which all the aforenamed (and others which were by this time come thither) did ſubſcribe.

When the Church was in this sort granted, they consulted among themselves, what order of service they should use (for they were not so strictly bound, as was told them, to the Ceremonies of the French by the Magistrates, but that if the one allowed of the other it was sufficient,) At length the English order was perused, and this by generall consent was concluded, that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used, the Letany, Surplice, and many other things also omitted, for that in those reformed Churches such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister (in place of the English Confession) should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the State and Time. And the same ended, the people to sing a Psalme in Meeter in a plaine tune as was, and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish Churches; that done, the Minister to pray for the assistance of Gods holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the Sermon. After the Sermon, a generall prayer for all estates, and for our Countrey of England, was also devised, at the end of which Prayer was joyned the Lords prayer, and a rehearsall of the Articles of our beliefe, which ended, the people to sing another Psalme, as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing his blessing. The peace of God, &c. or some other of like effect, the people to depart.

And as touching the ministration of the Sacraments, sundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous. After that the Congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had chosen their Minister and Deacons to serve for a time; they entred their Church the 29. of the same moneth. Then was it thought good among themselves, that forthwith they should advertise their Country men & brethren dispersed, of this singular benefit, the like whereof could no where else as yet be obtained, & to perswade them (all worldly respects put apart) to repaire thither, that they might all together with one mouth, & one heart both lament their former wickednesse, and also be thankfull to their God that had given them such a Church in a strange land wherein they might heare Gods Word truly preached, the Sacraments rightly ministred, & discipline used, which in their own country could not be obtained.

And to this effect were Leuers directed to Strasburge, Zurick, Densbrugh, and Emden in the 9. of August. And for that it was thought the Church could not long continue in good order without discipline, there was also a briefe forme deuised, declaring the necessity, the causes, and the order thereof, whereunto all those that were present subscribed, shewing thereby that they were ready and willing to submit themselues to the same, according to the rule prescribed in Gods holy Word, at which time it was determined by the Congregation that all such as should come after, should doe the like, before they were admitted as members of that Church.

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*Here followeth the generall Letter sent from the Congregation of Frankford, to Strasburg, Zurick, Wezell, Emden, &c.*

*Grace, mercy and peace in Christ our Lord, &c.*

WE E doubt not (dearely beloued) but you haue heard, as well by Letter, as by report, of the excellent graces and mercy which our good God and heauenly Father hath shewed unto our little Congregation in this City of Frankford, for that he hath not only made the Magistrates and Commons very fauourable towards us, and loving, but also hath giuen them hearts, with much compassion to tender us, in so much that euery man helpeth us, no man is against us; much loue, no grudge, glad to please, loath to annoy us, yea, and to declare this good will not to be of the mean sort, nor so small as our brethren haue felt otherwhere, they haue granted that thing which among others, and in other Cities, we could not obtain, nor durst almost hope for. For what greater treasure, or sweeter comfort can a Christian man desire, than to haue a Church wherein he may serue God in purity of faith, and integrity of life, which thing if we wish for, let us not refuse it, seeing where we would, we could not there obtain it. And here yet it is granted in so ample wise, that being subiect to no blemish, no, nor so much as the euill of suspition (from the which few

Churches

Churches are free) we may Preach, Minister, and use Discipline, to the true setting forth of Gods glory, and good example to others. And for our parts, we have not been negligent as touching the execution of the said benefit granted. For the 29. of July, we had (God be thanked) two Sermons to our singular comfort, and great joy of all godly men here. Wherefore brethren, seeing you have endured the pain of persecution with us, we thought it likewise our duties to make you partakers of our consolation, that all together we may give thankes to our loving Father, who is more tender over us, than the mother over her childe, neither suffereth us to be tempted above that we may beare, but even to the issue of the temptation, gave the prosperous successe, trusting by Gods grace, that he which hath given you that gift, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake, will so direct your hearts, that no respect of commodity there, nor yet feare of burthen here may once move you to shrink from your vocation, which is, in one faith, one ministration, one tongue, and one consent to serve God in his Church. *Cor.* 10. *Phil.* 2.

What more manifest signe, what plainer declaration, what word more expresse and lively can we have of duty and vocation, then when God speaketh in our hearts by faith, guideth us out of perils through his grace, and now last of all offereth us a resting place of his exceeding mercy? You remember that before we have reasoned together in hope to obtain a Church, and shall we now draw back, as unmindfull of Gods Providence, which hath procured us one free from all dregs of superstitious Ceremonies?

What thinke you if the Prophet *David* had had this offer, who desired to be Porter in the house of God, and more esteemed one day so spent, then a thousand otherwaies. *Psal.* 42.

Either what meant he when he said; *One request I demand of the Lord, which I will seeke after*; that is, *That I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the daies of my life*. Had *David* no experience? or felt he not what griefe it was to want the Congregation? And surely we must grant that he was far more perfect than we be; for he being conversant in this world, set his delight wholly in heavenly things. And many of us (we speake it to our shame) as if we had already forgotten the end of our *Psal.* 27.

Creation, are plunged in earthly affections, and wordly reſpects, ſo that through our infirmities this excellent benefit is like to be fruſtrate. For ſome doubt who ſhall be preferred, others ſeek increaſe of learning. Many follow the commodity of living; certaine look for a new vocation, ſo that it is a wonder to ſee the deformity of mans affections. God grant we may learn at their examples, which being called to the marriage, came not, what it is to eſteem in time the worthineſſe of Gods benefits, leſt by the loſſe of the ſame, we after fall unto unprofitable repentance, ſeeking again our loſſe with teares, as the reprobate *Eſau*, and yet never the neere. We charge no one man (brethren) nor yet mean all; and on what conſiderations theſe excuſes were pretended, we ſuſpend our judgements, referring the ſame to our imperfection and infirmity, whereby the adverſary ceaſeth not to batter daily the walls of Gods Temple.

*Mat.* 22.

*Mic* 3.
*Heb.* 11.

As touching the point of preferment, we are perſwaded thorowly that it hath this meaning, that every man thought of himſelfe modeſtly, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe to all men, unabling no man, for ſo much as you know that he which ſeeketh ambition, glory, advantage, or ſuch like, is not moved with Gods Spirit, as witneſſe the inſtructions that Chriſt our Maſter gave to his Diſciples, who labouring of like diſeaſe, were admoniſhed that he which did excell among them, ſhould abaſe himſelfe to his inferiour, which malady S. *Paul* perceiving to infect like a canker, moſt diligently frameth his ſtyle, that hee might not ſeem to prefer himſelfe to others in the courſe of his Miniſtery. And as for learning, as we wiſh to all men moſt abundantly; ſo we moſt earneſtly require, that comparing the congregations neceſſity, with your own private commodity, you would rather for Chriſts ſake chooſe the better; yea, and we aſſure you one good adverteſement, that through Gods grace, when we ſhall be aſſembled together, ſuch order will be taken, that beſides thoſe things which our Nation ſhall be able to furniſh, we have the City moſt forward to procure others. If any would pretend the hardneſſe of the countrey and charges, our experience may ſufficiently ſatisfie them, who having travelled through moſt places, where the Goſpel is preached, have not found ſo many commodities, nor leſſe charges.

*Phil.* 1.
*Col.* 1.

Reſteth

Reſteth the time of calling, which we refer to your conſciences, beſeeching you for Chriſts ſake to deſcend into your ſelves without all partiality, weighing the gravity of the matter which is Gods, and the ſilly excuſe which the fleſh miniſtreth. Conſider what God would ſay, I have prepared a plentifull and ripe harveſt, which ſtandeth in a readineſſe, and waiteth for the mower, and I have appointed thee thy taxe. I have given inſtruments, and all things fit for the labour, if thou forſake it, the crop is in danger; If thou look for oft warning, thou declareſt great negligence.

This ſpeech (Dearely beloved) or very like, God uſed to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Ieremiah*, &c. and they thought their vocation ſtrong. But you through Gods benefit, doe not onely heare God thus perſwading in your hearts, but alſo have beene by extreme calling confirmed, and according thereunto have walked to the great glory of God and profit of the Congregation. We truſt therefore (brethren) and in Jeſus Chriſt require it, that you would hide your talent no longer, but having new occaſion to impley it, you would put it forth for your Maſter, his advantage, and your owne diſcharge; for if you feele in your hearts comfort, as we doe, which are here aſſembled to heare the word of God preached and the Sacraments miniſtred, we aſſure you, you ſhould ſenſibly perceive that which the Prophet ſpeaketh in theſe termes, *As the heart chaſed panteth for greedineſſe of waters, even ſo (O Lord) my ſoule ſeeketh after thee, my ſoule burneth for thirſt in ſeeking the Lord, and ſaith, Alas when ſhall I be able to appeare before the face of the living God?* *Pſal.* 42. What thing then ought wee to have in greater recommendation, then the order and policie which God hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? that we may be taught by his Word, that wee may worſhip him and call upon his name with one accord, that we may have the true uſe of the Sacraments to helpe us to the ſame? For theſe be the meanes whereby we muſt be confirmed in the faith, in the feare of God, in holineſſe of converſation, in the contempt of the world, and in the love of life everlaſting. And for this conſideration Saint *Paul* ſaith, not that this order which the Lord hath ſet in his Church ſhould onely be for the rude and ſimple, but maketh it common to all, excepting no *Ephes.* 4.

man,

man. For he hath ordained (ſaith hee) ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, others to be Teachers and Inſtructors, to confirme the godly, and to labour to finiſh the building of Chriſts body till we be all brought to one conſent in faith to the knowledge of the Sonne of God to a perfect man, and finally, to the juſt meaſure of a ripe Chriſtian age. Let us all marke, that he ſaith not, that God hath left the Scriptures onely, that every one ſhould reade it, but alſo, that hee hath erected a policie and order, that there ſhould be ſome to teach, and not for one day, but all the time of our life, even to the death, for that is the time of our perfection. Wherefore brethren, let us ſubmit our ſelves, and leave off farther to tempt God, ſeeing that if we will be of the body of Chriſt, we muſt obey to this generall rule. Let no reſpect of worldly policy ſtay us. Let no perſwaſion blinde us. But let us fulfill in our ſelves that which *Eſaias* forewarneth, that Gods Children ſhall be as Pigeons, which flie by flocks into their Dovehouſe, which is the place where the word of God is preached, the Sacraments miniſtred, and Prayer uſed.

To conclude therefore (dearely beloved) let every man call his Conſcience to Counſel, and beſides theſe ſweet allurements, let us learn to prevent our adverſaries, who ſeeking ever to obſcure Gods glory, may eaſily cavill at this diſſipation. And would to God the ſlander were not already to our grief in ſundry places ſcattered in ſo much, that in England many take occaſion to remain in their filth. And ſome thinke they may diſſemble untill a Church be confirmed, perceiving that this our ſcattering, augmenteth the griefe of perſecution, and ſo through our negligence we loſe them for whom Chriſt dyed. Conſider brethren, it is Gods cauſe, he requireth you it is your duty, neceſſity urgeth, time willeth, your father ſpeaketh, children muſt obey, our enemies are diligent, and the adverſary is at hand.

Almighty God grant for his Sons ſake, that we may rightly ponder the matter, follow our challenge, ſerve the turne, heare the ſpeaker, walke in obedience and reſiſt our enemies. Wee deſire you all take this in good part, ſeeing we have written nothing but what charity did indite, and that which we truſt, and wiſh

wish you would have done to us in case like. From Frankford, this second of August, 1554.

*Your loving Brethren:*

*John Stanton.* *William Williams.* *William Hammon.*
*John Makebray.* *William Wringham.* *Thomas Wood.*
*Michael Gill.*

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SHortly after the learned men of Stransburge answered to this generall Letter before mentioned, in this sort; That they had considered the contents thereof, and perceived that the effect was no other but to have one or two take the chiefe charge and governance of the Congregation. And that in case they might get D. *Peyner*, Master *Scory*, D. *Bale*, or D. *Cox*, or two of them, they should be well furnished; if not, they would appoint one at Strausburge, and another should come from Zurick to serve the turne, at which time Master *Grindall* wrote to Master *Scory* at Emden, perswading him to be Superintendent of this Church of Frankford, who (in two severall Letters to his private friends) offered his service to the Congregation, but before the receit thereof the Congregation had written their Letters to Master *Knox* at Geneva, to M. *Haddon* at Strausb. and Master *Lever* at Zurick, whom they had elected for their Ministers, and advertised Master *Scory* by a generall Letter of the same.

Now, when the answer that came from Strausburge was read, and compared with the Letter written unto them, it did not in any point answer it. For the Congregation wrote not particularly for any certain number, but generally wishing all mens presence; neither did they require to have any Superintendent to take the chiefe charge and government, for the choice and election thereof (if such a one had been necessary) ought to have been referred to the Congregation, which fully determined at that time to have the Church governed by two or three grave, godly, and learned Ministers of like authority, as is accustomed in the best reformed Churches.

*The eleventh of October the Students of Zurick wrote alſo an anſwer to the generall Letters aforeſaid, in this wiſe.*

*The Grace and Peace of God the Father, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all,* Amen.

AS God by his ſingular providence hath wonderfully bleſſed us, as well in moving the hearts of the Senators and Miniſters here, to lament our ſtate, favour and aide us in our requeſts; as alſo in giving happy ſucceſſe for all kinde of proviſion to our uſe and behoofe; So he well knoweth, that we no otherwiſe eſteeme the ſame then may ſtand with his glory, our profeſſion, and the comfort of his afflicted Church, but daily labour in the knowledge of his Word, to the intent that when God our mercifull Father ſhall ſo think good, we may be both faithfull and skilfull diſpenſers thereof.

And as running in the ſweet race of our vocation, ye have earneſtly written unto us for to repaire thither, burthening us ſo ſore with your neceſſity, that ye think our ſhrinking back in this behalfe ſhould argue want of charity, keep many in *England* ſtill, which elſe would willingly come forth, and ſhew our ſelves careleſſe of that Congregation whoſe edifying and winning to Chriſt we only pretend to ſeek. Theſe are great cauſes, but touching us, neither ſo truly objected, ſo firmly grounded, nor yet ſo aptly applyed, but that as ſound reaſons on our parts might anſwer the ſame. Yet notwithſtanding, in as much as you appeale to our conſciences, which in the day of the Lord ſhall accuſe or excuſe us in this thing, and all other, we will not utterly deny your requeſts, but ſhew our ſelves as ready to ſeek Gods glory and the increaſe of his Kingdome, either there, or elſewhere to the uttermoſt of our powers, as ever we did pretend to doe, requiring you all in the name and feare of God, that as we, all reſpects ſet apart, and unfeinedly travelling in the neceſſary knowledge of Chriſt, to the profit of his Church hereafter; refuſe not for your needy comfort to accompliſh your deſires; So ye will not interrupt our ſtudies, urge our removing,

removing, and bring us thither, feeling here already the exceeding goodneſſe of God towards us, unleſſe ye thinke, and that before God, that our abſence on the one part ſhould greatly hinder, and our preſence on the other ſide very much further your godly attempts already begun, for the furniſhing of that Church ſo happily obtained, to all our comforts, for the which in our daily prayers we give God moſt hearty and humble thankes. If by this doing ye give occaſion to breake our godly fellowſhip, to hurt our ſtudies, to diſſolve our exerciſes, and utterly to avert our godly purpoſes, ye have to anſwer even unto him which is a faithfull and a juſt Judge, and will give to every man according to his deeds. Wherefore (deare brethren) in conſideration that we be all not only of one Nation, but alſo members of one myſticall body in Jeſus Chriſt our Head, and ought therefore eſpecially in this time of exile, and moſt worthily deſerved croſſe by all meanes poſſible, one to aide and comfort another, beſeeching God for his mercies ſake to aſſwage his wrath, to give us repenting hearts, and patient continuance to our brethren at home, with pitty to behold his Vineyard there ſpoiled and trodden under foot, and to call us home after his Fatherly chaſtiſement eſtſoones fruitfully to work in the ſame: We briefly make this anſwer. If upon the receit hereof, ye ſhall without cloake or forged pretenee; But only to ſeeke Chriſt advertiſe us by your Letters, that our being there is ſo needfull, as ye have already ſignified, & that we may altogether ſerve and praiſe God as freely and as uprightly (whereof private Letters received lately from Frankf. make us much to doubt) as the order laſt taken in the Church of Engl. permitteth and preſcribeth (for we are fully determined to admit and uſe no other) then about Eaſter next (for before we cannot) God proſpering us, and no juſt cauſe or occaſion to the contrary growing in the meane time, whereby our intent may be defeated, with one conſent we agree to joyn our ſelves unto you, and moſt willingly to doe ſuch ſervice there, as our poore condition and calling doth permit. In the meane ſpace, we ſhall moſt intirely beſeech Almighty God ſo to aſſiſt you with his holy Spirit, that your doings may helpe to confound Papiſtry, ſet forth Gods glory, and ſhew ſuch

light in the face of the world, that both the wicked may bee ashamed, having no just cause of reproach, and also our weake brethren confirmed and won to the truth. *From Zurich, this 23. of October, 1554.*

*Your loving friends.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Robert Horne.* | *John Mullings.* | *John Parkhurst.* |
| *Richard Chambers.* | *Thomas Spencer.* | *Roger Kelke.* |
| *Thomas Lever.* | *Thomas Bentham.* | *Robert Beamont.* |
| *Nicholas Karvile.* | *William Cole.* | *Laurence Humphrey.* |
| | *Henry Cockraft.* | *John Pretie.* |

*About this time Letters were received from Master* Huddon, *wherein he desired for divers considerations to be excused for comming to take the charge upon him at Frankford.*

*The 24. of October came Master* Whitehead *to Frankeford, and at the request of the Congregation, he took the charge for a time, and preached upon the Epistle to the Romans.*

*About the 4. of November came Master* Chambers *to Frankeford, with Letters from Zuricke, which were partly an answer to another Letter written unto them from Frankeford the 26. of September, which was as followeth.*

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*Grace, mercy, and peace, &c.*

AFter long hope of your answer to our Letter, we thought good to put you once againe in remembrance. And as we in our former, so now in this also, in Gods behalfe most earnestly require you deeply to weigh this matter of Gods calling, and the necessity of this Congregation. Wee have throughly learned your estate, and also made you privy to ours, and ere-soone, wish we might be together to bewaile our sins past, to pray together for our poore brethren that are under Antichrists captivity, to comfort, instruct, and profit one another. And finally to bestow the time of our persecution together, and redeem these dayes which are so evill. And if any desire of knowledge stay you, certainly it would not be so little increased here that you should justly repent. For as touching the company of learned men (as you cannot here be without) so that the thing

which

which chiefly you can require of learned mens judgements, and knowledge out of their workes, you may such most plentifully, whereof with us you can lack no store. We need not (brethren) to make long discourse in reasoning, for we partly know that Gods Spirit, which worketh in your hearts shall prevaile with you more then disputing, not doubting but the same holy Spirit knocketh at the doore of your consciences, not only to move you of our behalfe, but to admonish you to avoid the inconveniences of tables, and the offences of our poore brethren of England, whose marvelling cannot otherwise be satisfied. Remember therefore (dearely beloved) that we write as brethren, to our deare brethren, who altogether seek our Fathers honour, our owne discharge, and the comfort of our afflicted Countrey men.

The same sweet Father grant for his Christs sake, that we may assemble together, to the building of this his Temple, to lett the false workmen, and underminers, and diligently in our vocation to help to the furnishing of the same, till it rise to perfection. Fare ye well in Christ. *From Frankeford this* 16. *of Sept.* 1554.

*Your loving friends, as in the Letter afore, so under this subscribed.*

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*The answer to them of Frankeford was as followeth.*

WEE being placed here in quietnesse, with many and great commodities for our studies, tending all to edification of Christs Church, have, unto the earnest requests of your Letters unto us, answered in our Letters unto you, that to discharge all duty in conscience, and to increase and instruct your Congregation at Frankford, with our presence and diligence will not deny to remove from hence unto you, so that you charged of conscience doe constantly affirme, that ye have so great need of us, as by Letters was signified, and certainly assure us that we with you may, and shall use the same order of service concerning Religion, which was in England late set forth by King *Edward*. And now also for the better understanding of such requests and charitable performance of duty, upon

both parts desired and procured Master *Richard Chambers* our best friend, a man most charitable and carefull for the Christian Congregation, to take paines to travell unto you, and with you for us: so that this matter as it is begun and moved in writing may be fully debated and concluded by his faithfull meanes and deligence. For we be all agreed, and doe purpose to allow and performe whatsoever hee shall say and promes in our names unto you. Wherefore, wee beseech you in Gods Name conscionably to consider the estate and condition, both of you and us, and if thereupon you conclude with the said Master *Chambers* of our comming unto you, then let him not lacke your charitable helpe in necessary provision for our continuance with you. Annd thus beseeching God that your doings, may tend to his glory, and the speedy comfort of his afflicted Church, wee wish you all health and increase of true knowledge in Christ our Lord and Saviour. From Zuricke this 27. of October, *Anno* 1554.

*Your loving friends, as in the Letters before.*

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*When Master* Chambers *had conferred with the Congregation, and saw that they could not assure him the full use of the English book without the hazzarding of their Church, he prepared to depart from whence he came, and by this time was Master* Knox *come from Geneva, ( and chosen Minister ) upon the receit of a Letter sent him from the Congregation, which Letter was as followeth.*

WEE have received Letters from our brethren of Strausburge, but not in such sort and ample wise as we looked for, whereupon we assembled together in the holy Ghost we hope, and have with one voice and consent chosen you so particularly to be one of the Ministers of our Congregation here, to preach unto us the most lively Word of God, according to the gift that God hath given you, forasmuch as we have here through the mercifull goodnesse of God a Church to be congregated together in the name of Christ, and be all of one

one body, and alſo being of one Nation, Tongue, and Country. And at this preſent, having need of ſuch a one as you, we doe deſire you, and alſo require you in the name of God not to deny us, nor to refuſe theſe our requeſts, but that you will aid, help and aſſiſt us with your preſence in this our good and godly enterpriſe, which we have tooke in hand to the glory of God, and the profit of his Congregation, and the poore ſheep of Chriſt diſperſed abroad, who with you and like preſences, would come hither and be of one fold, where as now they wander abroad as loſt ſheep without any gulde; we miſtruſt not but that you will joyfully accept this calling. Fare ye well. *From Frankeford the 24. of September.*

*Marke the calling of* Knox *to the Paſtorſhip.*

*Your loving brethren.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *William Wittingham.* | *Thomas Wood.* | *Michael Gill.* |
| *John Bale.* | *Edmond Sutton.* | *John Makebray.* |
| *Thomas Cole.* | *John Stanton.* | *John Samford.* |
| *William Williams.* | *William Walton.* | *John Wood.* |
| *George Chidley.* | *Jaſper Swift.* | *Thomas Sarby.* |
| *William Hammon.* | *John Geofrie.* | *Anthony Caciar.* |
| *Thomas Steward.* | *John Gray.* | *Hugh Alford.* |

*Now to returne to the tenour of the Letter which the Congregation of Frankeford, wrate by Maſter* Chambers, *to the Students of Zurick,*

WE have receiued your two ſeuerall Letters, the one dated the 13. of October ſentus from Strausburge, and the other the 27. of the ſame, by the hands of your deare friend Maſter *Chambers*, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents thereof. And when as after diuers aſſemblies and long debatings the ſaid Maſter *Chambers* perceiued that we could not in all points warrant the full uſe of the booke of Service (which ſeemeth to be your full ſcope and marke) and alſo weighing in conſcience the great benefit that God hath in this citie offered to our whole Nation, he not only rejoyced at the ſame, but alſo promiſed to travell in perſwading you to the furtherance thereof. As touching the effect of the booke,

booke, we desire the execution thereof as much as you, (so far as Gods Word doth command it) but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent as by ours are not to be used. And although they were tollerable (as some are not) yet being in a strange common-wealth, wee could not be suffered to put them in ure, and better it were they should never be practised, then they should be the subversion of our Church, which should fall in great hazzard by using them.

The matter is not ours more than yours (except any excell others in godly zeale) but both wish gods honour.

If a larger gate be opened there, to the same than to us upon your perswasions, ye shall not finde us to draw backe: for this is that necessitie, brethren, that may not be neglected, if wee wish the comfort and gathering together of our dispersed brethren. If any thinke that the not using of the Booke in all points should increase our godly fathers, and brethrens hands, or else any thing deface the worthy Ordinances and Lawes of our Soveraigne Lord of most famoue memory, King *Edward* the sixth; he seemeth either little to way the matter, or else letted through ignorance knoweth not that even they themselves have upon considerations of circumstances, altered heretofore many things as touching the same. And if God had not in these wicked dayes otherwise determined, would here after have changed more, yea, and in our case we doubt not but that they would have done the like. These few lines concerning both our communications, we have accordingly written unto you, referring the rest to the discretion of our good friend Master *Chambers*, who knoweth that we have shewed our selves most comfortable in all things that standeth in our powers, and most desirous of your companies according to our former Letters. The Spirit of God move your hearts to doe that which shall be most to his glory, and the comfort of your brethren.

*At Frankeford this 25. of November.*

*Your loving friends, &c.*

The

*The 28. of November Maſter Chambers came againe to Frankford from Strausburge, and with him Maſter Grindall, with Letters from the learned men there, ſubſcribed with fiftene of their hands, which Letter was as followeth.*

WHen we doe conſider what inward comfort it were for the faithfull people of England now diſperſed for the Goſpell, and wandring abroad in ſtrange countries, as ſheep without Paſtor, to be gathered together into one Congregation, that with one mouth, one minde, and one ſpirit they might glorifie God: we have at all times and doe preſently thinke it our duties, not only in heart to wiſh that thing, but alſo to labour by all meanes ſo much as in us lyeth to bring the ſame to paſſe. And having now perfect intelligence of the good minds which the Magiſtrates of Frankford beare towards you and others our ſcattered Country-men, and alſo underſtanding of the free grant of a Church unto us wherein we may together ſerve God, and not doubting of their farther friendſhip in permitting us frankly to uſe our Religion according to that godly order ſet forth and received in England: We both give God thankes for ſo great a benefit, and alſo thinke it not fit to refuſe ſo friendly an offer, or to let ſlip ſo good an occaſion. Therefore, neither doubting of their good furtherance hereunto, nor yet diſtruſting your good conformity and ready deſires in reducing the Engliſh Church now begun there, to its former perfection of the laſt, had in England, ſo far as poſſibly can be attained, leſt by much altering of the ſame we ſhould ſeeme to condemne the chiefe authors thereof, who as they now ſuffer, ſo are they moſt ready to confirme that fact with the price of their bloods, and ſhould alſo both give occaſion to our adverſaries, to accuſe our doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutability, and the godly to doubt of that truth wherein before they were perſwaded, and to hinder their comming hither which before they had purpoſed. For the avoiding of theſe, and the obtaining of the other, moved hereunto in conſcience, and provoked by your gentle Letters, we have thought it expedient to ſend over unto you, our beloved brethren the bringers hereof,

to travell with the Magiſtrates and you concerning the premiſſes, whoſe wiſdoms, learning and godly zeale, as they be known unto you, ſo their doings in this ſhall fully take place with us. And if they obtaine that which we truſt will not be denyed at no hands : Then we intend (God willing) to be with you the firſt of February next, there to help to ſet in order and ſtabliſh that Church accordingly. And ſo long altogether to remaine with you as ſhall be neceſſary, or untill juſt occaſion ſhall call ſome of us away.

And we doubt not but that our brethren of Zurick, Emden, Densburge, &c. will do the ſame accordingly, as we have prayed them by our Letters, truſting that you by yours will make like requeſt. Fare ye well. *From Straſburge the 23. of Novemb.*

*Your loving friends.*

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|---|---|---|
| *James Haddon.* | *John Geofrie.* | *Arthur Saul.* |
| *Edwin Sands.* | *John Pedder.* | *Thomas Steward.* |
| *Edmond Grindall.* | *Thomas Eaten.* | *Chriſt. Goodman.* |
| *John Huntington.* | *Michael Reymuger.* | *Humphrey Alcocſon.* |
| *Guido Eaten.* | *Auguſt. Bradbridge.* | *Thomas Lakin.* |
| | | *Thomas Crafton.* |

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THis Letter was read to the Congregation, at which time M. *Grindall* declared the occaſion of their comming, which (among other things) was chiefly for the eſtabliſhing of the book of England, not that they meant (as he ſaid) to have it ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that ſuch ceremonies, and things which the Country could not beare, might well be omitted, ſo that they might have the ſubſtance and effect thereof. Maſter *Knox* and *Whittingham* asked them what they meant by the ſubſtance of the book; It was anſwered by the other that they had no commiſſion to diſpute thoſe matters, but they requeſted that the Congregation would anſwer to certaine interogatories, which were theſe. Firſt, that they might know what parts of the booke they would admit. The ſecond was for a ſeverall Church, and the third what aſſurance they might have for their quiet habitation. To the firſt, anſwer was made, that what they could prove of that booke to ſtand with Gods Word, and the Country permit,

mit, that ſhould be granted them. To the ſecond, which was for a Church, it was told them, that they underſtood by the Magiſtrates, the time ſerved not to move any ſuch matter till the counſell brake up at Ausburge. To the third it was ſaid, that a generall grant was made at their firſt comming thither, to the whole Nation, and the freedome of the City offered to all ſuch as were deſirous of it, in as large and ample manner as they could require, which was to them aſſurance ſufficient.

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*Theſe three queſtions thus anſwered, Maſter* Chambers, *and Maſter* Grindall *depart back againe with a Letter from the Congregation, which was as followeth.*

*Grace, mercy, and peace, &c.*

AS it was ever moſt true, ſo at this preſent we feel moſt ſenſibly, that whereſoever God layeth the foundation to build his glory, there he continueth till he bring the ſame to a preſent work. All thankes and praiſe be unto him therefore, that hath moved your hearts ſo, as in no point ye ſeeme to forſlow your diligence to the furtherance of the ſame. And as the work is of moſt excellency, ſo the adverſaries ceaſe not moſt craftily to undermine it, or at the leaſt, through falſe reports and defacing of the work begun, to ſtate the labourers, which ſhould travell in the finiſhing thereof. But truth ever cleareth it ſelfe, and as the Sun conſumeth the clouds, ſo miſreports by triall are confounded. Our brethren ſent from you can certifie you at length touching the particulars of your Letter, to whom wee have in all things agreed which ſeemed expedient for the ſtate of this Congregation. As for certain Ceremonies which the order of the Country will not beare; we neceſſarily omit with as little alteration as is poſſible (which in your Letters ye require) ſo that no adverſary is ſo impudent that dare either blame our doctrine of imperfection, or us of mutability, except he be altogether wilfully ignorant, rather ſeeking how to finde faults, than to amend them. Neither doe we diſſent from them which lie at the ranſome of their bloods for the doctrine whereof they have made a moſt worthy confeſſion.

And yet we think not, that any godly man will stand to the death in the defence of Ceremonies, which (as the Book speaketh) upon iuſt cauſes may be altered and changed.

And if the not full uſing of the Book cauſe the godly to doubt in that truth wherein before they were perſwaded, and to ſtay their comming hither, according as they purpoſed; either it ſignifieth that they were very ſlenderly taught, which for breach of a Ceremony will refuſe ſuch a ſingular benefit, or elſe that you have heard them miſreported by ſome falſe brethren, who, to hinder this worthy enterpriſe, ſpare not to ſowe in every place, ſtore of ſuch poore reaſons. Laſt of all it remaineth that ye write, that the firſt of February next you will come to helpe to ſet in order and eſtabliſh this Church accordingly, which thing, as we moſt wiſh for your companies ſake, and for that ye might ſee our godly orders already here obſerved: So we put you out of doubt, that for to appoint a journey for the eſtabliſhing of Ceremonies, ſhould be more to your charges than any generall profit, except ye were determined to remain with us longer than two moneths, as ye writ to our Country-men at Densbrough and Emden, which Letters notwithſtanding are now ſtaid, and as appeareth we never the neare.

We refer the reſt to our brethren *M. Chambers*, and *M. Gribdall*, who by their diligent inquiſition have learned ſo far of our ſtate as we wrote unto you in our former Letters, that is, that we have a Church freely granted to preach Gods Word purely, to miniſter the Sacraments ſincerely, and to execute diſcipline truly. And as touching our booke, we will practice it ſo far as Gods Word doth aſſure it, and the State of this Country permit. Fare ye well. *At Frankeford this 3. of December.*

*Your loving friends.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *George Wheteal.* | *Thomas Wood.* | *John Makebray.* |
| *Thomas Wheteal.* | *William Williams.* | *William Walton.* |
| *John Knox.* | *John Stanton.* | *Michael Gill.* |
| *John Bale.* | *John Samford.* | *Laurence Kent.* |
| *William Whitingham.* | *John Fox.* | *John Hollingham.* |
| *Edward Sutton.* | *William Keth.* | |

The

*The answere to this Letter from Strausburge that followeth.*

*Grace, mercy, and peace.*

WE E. have received your Letters, and also your answer in writing concerning certain Articles, and doe perceive as well by the same, as by M. *Chambers*, and M. *Grindall* your state. But for so much as your opinion is that the time doth not presently serve to move the Magistrates in those requests, the obtaining whereof was the principle cause of our sending unto you, we cannot at this present condescend upon any generall meeting, or any certaine time, either to remaine with you or otherwise. And therefore if you shall certainly perceive a time convenient, that the Magistrates may be travelled withall, as well for the good and quiet habitation of the commers, and especially Students, as also a severall Church, and to know whether the exercise of the booke shall be used, such we meane as no reasonable man shall justly reprove, and that the certainty of these matters be knowne to the Magistrates hands.

Then (if you can let us have intelligence) we will further consult what is to be done on our parte, trusting, God shall direct us to doe so as may be most to his glory in the end, howsoever the present time shall judge of it. *From Strausburge this 23. of December.*

*Your loving friends, &c. as in the Letters before.*

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WHen this Letter was read to the Congregation, they requested, that forsomuch as the learned men, could not condescend upon any generall and certain time of meeting as now appeared by their Letters, they might conclude upon some certaine order by common consent still to continue, and that without farther delay, and also to have the holy Communion ministred, which the most part earnestly desired. At length it was agreed that the order of Geneva (which then was already Printed in English, and some Copies there among them) should

take place as an order moſt godly and fartheſt off from Superſtition. But Maſter *Knox* being ſpoken unto, as well to put that order in practiſe, as to miniſter the communion, refuſed to doe either the one or the other, affirming that for many conſiderations he could not conſent that the ſame Order ſhould be practiſed, till the learned men of Strausburge, Zurik, Emden, &c. were made privy. Neither yet would he miniſter the communion by the Booke of England, for that there were things in it placed (as he ſaid) onely by warrant of mans authoritie, or no ground in Gods Word for the ſame, and had alſo a long time very ſuperſtitiouſly in the Maſſe beene wickedly abuſed. But if he might not be ſuffered to miniſter the Sacraments according to his conſcience, he then requeſted that ſome other might miniſter the Sacraments, and he would onely preach. If neither could he admitted be beſought that he might be diſcharged. But to that the congregation would in no wiſe conſent.

Whiles theſe things were thus in handling, came Maſter *Lever* (before elected) who aſſembling the congregation requeſted that he might with their conſents appoint ſuch an order, as ſhould be both Godly without reſpect of the Booke of Geneva or any other, requeſting farther, that for ſo much as that office was of ſo great importance, and that he had not beene in the like before, that he might betweene that and Eaſter have a triall of them, and they of him, and ſo at the end of that terme, either take or refuſe, which time of triall, as it was willingly granted him, ſo when they underſtood that the order which he would place and uſe was not altogether ſuch as was fit for a right reformed Church, they would in no wiſe yeeld to the ſame.

*Knox*, *Wittingham*, and others, perceiving that theſe beginnings would grow to ſomewhat, if it were not ſtaid in time; drew forth a plat of the whole book of England into the Latine tongue, ſending the ſame to M. *Calvin* of Geneva, and requeſting his judgement therein, and ſhewing him that ſome of their Country-men went about to force them to the ſame, and would admit no other, ſaying, that it was an order moſt abſolute, and that if ever they came into their Country, they would doe their beſt to eſtabliſh it againe. Now followeth the deſcription.

## A deſcription of the Liturgie, or booke of Service that is uſed in England.

FIrſt of all, Morning prayer offereth it ſelfe, The Miniſter having put on a white garment (which they call a ſurplice) beginning with ſome ſentence of holy Scripture, as for example; If we ſhall ſay that we have no ſin we deceive our ſelves, &c. or ſome ſuch of like ſort. Then he taketh in hand the exhortation, which ſtirreth up to a confeſſion of ſins, which the Miniſter pronounceth with a loud voide, the people ſaying after him. To this is added an abſolution, and when theſe things are done, he rehearſeth the Lords prayer, and afterward Lord open thou my lips, and my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe. O God be ready to be my help, &c. Then, Come and let us ſing unto the Lord, &c. By and by alſo there follow three Pſalmes together at the end of every one. Then followeth the firſt Leſſon, which containeth a whole Chapter of the old Teſtament. After this Leſſon they ſay or ſing we praiſe the Lord, or, Bleſſed be the Lord, &c. Then another Leſſon out of the New Teſtament, unleſſe peradventure the ſolemnization of ſome high feaſt have other ſet and appointed Leſſons. Now in Cathedrall Churches they utter their Leſſons in plain ſong, and then afterwards is *Benedictus* added. This booke warneth that they keep this order thorowout the whole yeare. Afterward, the Creed is pronounced by the Miniſter (all the people in the meane time ſtanding up) Afterwards falling downe upon their knees, the Miniſter ſaith, The Lord be with you, The anſwer, And with thy ſpirit.

Then Lord have mercy upon us; Chriſt have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. Our Father, &c. pronounced out aloud of all, with all boldneſſe. Then the Miniſter, when he ſtandeth up ſaith, O Lord ſhew us thy mercy; The anſwer, and give unto us thy ſaving health. O Lord ſave the King in the day wherein we ſhall call upon thee. Indue thy Miniſters with righteouſneſſe.

righteouſneſſe. And make thy choſen people joyfull. O Lord ſave thy people. And bleſſe thine inheritance. Give peace in our time O Lord, &c. At length, Collects are had in place of a concluſion: the firſt for the day, the ſecond for peace, the laſt is for the obtaining of Grace. Now the Evening prayers are ſaid in a manner as the other are, ſaying that after the firſt leſſon, followeth, My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord. After the ſecond Leſſon, Now Lord, &c. and inſtead of that Collect, God which art the author of peace, is uſed, O God from whom all holy deſires, &c. Beſides, there is a caution added, that all Miniſters ſhall exerciſe themſelves continually as well in Morning Prayers as Evening prayers, except perhaps by ſtudy in divinity or ſome other buſineſſe, they be greatly and neceſſarily let or hindred. Beſides upon every Sabboth day, Wedneſday and Friday there is yet in uſe certain ſuffrages deviſed of Pope *Gregory*, which beginneth after this manner, O God the Father of heaven have mercy upon us miſerable ſinners. O God the Son redeemer of the world, &c. only leaving out the invocation of Saints, otherwiſe we uſe a certaine conjuring of God. By the myſterie of his Incarnation, by his holy nativity and circumciſion, by his baptiſme, faſting, and temptation, by his agony and bloody ſweat, &c. yea, it comprehendeth in plaine words a prayer to be delivered from ſuddaine death, the people anſwering to the end of every clauſe, either Spare us good Lord, or elſe, Good Lord deliver us, or, We beſeech thee to heare us good Lord. O Lambe of God that taketh away the ſins of the world, is thrice repeated. Then Lord have mercy upon us thrice, and then the Lords prayer, with this prayer alſo, O Lord deale not with us after our ſins to the ſame adjoyned; paſſing over ſome things, leſt we ſhould ſeem to cite all thoſe droſſes which remaine ſtill among us.

Now the manner of the Supper is thus. The number of three at the leaſt is counted a fit number to communicate, and yet it is permitted (the peſtilence or ſome other common ſickneſſe being among the people) the Miniſter alone may communicate with the ſick man in his houſe. Firſt therefore the Miniſter muſt be prepared after this manner, in a white linnen garment, (as in ſaying the other ſervice he is appointed) and muſt ſtand

at

at the North ſide of the Table. Then is had the Lords prayer after the cuſtome, then he reciteth the Collect, and after follow in order the ten Commandements, but ſo notwithſtanding, that every one of the people may anſwer, Lord have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this Law. After the rehearſall of the Commandements, the Collect of the day (as it is called) and another for the King is had. By and by the Epiſtle and Goſpell followeth, to wit, ſuch as the Calender appointeth for that day. And there in this place there is a note, that every holy day hath his Collect, Epiſtle and Goſpell (which fill 73. great leaves of the booke, when the reſt fill ſcarce 50. For all holy dayes are now in like uſe as were among the Papiſts; only very few excepted.

Then he goeth forwards to the Creed, and after that to the Sermon (if there be any) afterwards the pariſh Prieſt biddeth the holy dayes and faſts on their eaves, if there be any that week. And here the Book warneth that none defraud the pariſh Prieſt of his due or right, eſpecially on thoſe feaſt dayes, that are dedicated to offerings. Then followeth a Prayer for the State of the Church Militant, and that not without a long heap and mixture of matters untill they come (after a certaine confeſſion of ſins) to lift up your hearts, the people anſwering, we give thankes to the Lord. Let us give thankes to our Lord God, the anſwer, It is meet and right ſo to doe. It is very meet, right, and our bounden dury, &c. untill they come to that clauſe, O Lord holy Father, &c. and ſo the preface according to the feaſt is added. Afterwards he ſaith, Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and ſo endeth with holy, holy, holy Lord God, till he come to Hoſanna in the higheſt. Now the Prieſt boweth his knee, acknowledging our unworthineſs in the name of all them that ſhall receive. And ſetting out Gods mercy, he beſeecheth God that our bodies may be made cleane by his body, and that our ſoules may be waſhed through his blood. And then he againe ſtandeth up and taketh in hand afreſh another prayer appointed for this purpoſe, in which are contained the words of the inſtitution, all which being done, he firſt communicateth, then by and by he ſaith to another, Kneeling, Take, and eate this in remembrance that Chriſt dyed for thee,

and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thankſgiving.

Now about the end the Lords prayer is uſed againe, the Miniſter ſaying it aloud, and all the people following; to conclude, they have a giving of thankes in the end, with Glory to God in the higheſt, as it was uſed among the Papiſts; if it happen that there be no Sermon, only a few things are omitted, but all other things are done in order aforeſaid.

In Baptiſme the Godfathers are demanded in the name of the childe, whether they renounce the devill and all his works, the luſts of the world, &c. and they anſwer, I renounce them. Then, whether they beleeve the Articles of the faith, which being confeſſed, wilt thou (ſaith he, turning himſelfe to both the witneſſes) be baptiſed into this faith? and they ſay yea, I will. After a few thing rehearſed, he taketh the childe and dippeth it in, but warily and diſcreetly as it is in the Booke, upon whoſe forehead alſo he ſhall make a Croſſe in token forſooth, that when he is old he ſhall not be aſhamed to confeſſe the Faith of Chriſt crucified. Afterward, ſending away the Godfathers and Godmothers, he chargeth them that they bring the childe to be confirmed of the Biſhop as ſoone as he can ſay the Articles of the faith, the Lords prayer, and the ten Commandements. And ſeeing there be many cauſes, as the Booke ſaith, which ſhould move them to the Confirmation of children, this forſooth of all others is the weightieſt, that by impoſition of hands they may receive ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations of ſin, and the aſſaults of the world and the devill, becauſe that when Children come to that age, partly by the frailty of their owne fleſh, partly by the aſſaults of the world and the devill they begin to be in danger: And leſt any ſhould thinke any errour to be in this Confirmation, therefore they take a certaine Pamphlet of a Catechiſme, which conſiſteth of the Articles of the faith, the Lords prayer, and ten Commandements, and all this is diſpatched in leſſe then two leaves.

To theſe is joyned their manner of marriage, of which that we may paſſe over many petty Ceremonies, theſe follies who can ſuffer? The husband layeth downe a Ring upon the book, which the Miniſter taking, he giveth it in his hand, and biddeth him to put it on the fourth finger of his wives left hand; Then he

he uſeth this forme of words, with this Ring (ſaith he) I thee wed, with my body I thee worſhip, with all my worldly goods I thee endue. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt.

A little after the Miniſter ſaith to the new married perſons, kneeling before the Lords Table; Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us. Our Father which art, &c. Lord ſave thy ſervant and thy handmaid, &c. and ſo a few things being rehearſed, they muſt bee brought to the Lords Supper. The viſitation of the ſick is after this manner. Peace be to this houſe. The anſwer. And to all that dwell in the ſame. Lord have mercy upon us, &c. Our Father, &c. Lord ſave thy ſervant. Anſwer. Which truſteth in thee. Send forth thy help from thy holy hill, and with ſpeed ſave him, &c. As in the other prefaces with queſtions and anſwers. Of the buriall.

The Prieſt meeteth the Corps at the entrance of the Churchyard, either ſinging, or ſoftly pronouncing, I am the Reſurrection and the Life, &c. I know that my Redeemer liveth, *Job* 19. being come to the grave, it is ſaid. Man borne of a woman, *Job* 9. When the earth is throwne in, We commit (ſaith he) earth to earth, duſt to duſt, &c. The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken: I heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord. Lord have mercy upon us, &c.

The purification of women in Childbed, which they call giving of thankes, is not only in all things with us almoſt common with the Papiſts, but alſo with the Jews, becauſe they are commanded inſtead of a Lamb, or Dove to offer money.

Other things, not ſo much ſhame it ſelfe, as a certaine kinde of pitty compelleth us to keep cloſe, in the meane ſeaſon, nothing diminiſhing the honour due to thoſe reverend men, who partly being hindred by thoſe times, and by the obſtinacy, and alſo multitude of adverſaries (to whom nothing was ever delightfull beſides their owne corruptions) being as it were overflowne; did alwaies in their mind continually as much as they could ſtrive to more perfect things. Knox & Whittingham *aſhamed to open ſome things.*

*Note that this deſcription is very favourably put down, if yee confer it with the booke of order in all points, and the uſage of the booke in many Churches of this Realme, you can confeſſe no leſſe. And hereof ye may gather what Maſter* Calvin *would have written, if they had noted all the abuſes of the ſame.*

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The anſwer and judgement of that famous and excellent learned man Maſter *Iohn Calvin* the late Paſtor of Geneva, touching the Booke of England after that he had peruſed the ſame faithfully tranſlated out of Latine by M. *Whittingham.*

*To the godly and learned men, Maſter* John Knox, *and Maſter* William Whittingham, *his faithfull brethren at Frankeford, &c.*

THis thing truely grieveth me very much, and it is a great ſhame that contention ſhould ariſe among brethren baniſhed and driven out of their country for one faith, and for that cauſe which onely ought to have holden you bound together, as it were with an holy band in this your diſperſion. For what might you doe better in this dolerous and miſerable plague, then (being pulled violently from your country) to procure your ſelves a Church, which ſhould receive and nouriſh you (being joyned together in mindes and language) in her motherly lappe? But now for ſome men to ſtrive as touching the forme of Prayer and for Ceremonies as though ye were at reſt and proſperity, and to ſuffer that to be an impediment that ye cannot there joyne into one body of the Church (as I thinke) it is too much out of ſeaſon.

Yet notwithſtanding I allow their conſtancie which ſtrive for a juſt cauſe, being forced againſt their wills unto contention. I doe worthily condemne frowardneſſe, which doth hinder and ſtay the holy carefulneſſe of reforming the Church.

And

And as I behave my ſelfe gentle and tractable in meane things (as externall Ceremonies) So doe I not alwayes judge it profitable to give place to the fooliſh ſtoutneſſe, which will forſake nothing of their owne wonted cuſtome. In the Liturgie of England, I ſee that there were many tolerable fooliſh things; by theſe words I meane, that there was not the purity which was to be deſired. Theſe vices, though they could not at the firſt day be amended, yet ſeeing there was manifeſt impietie, they were for a ſeaſon to be tolerated. Therefore, it was lawfull to begin of ſuch rudiments or Abſedaries, but ſo, that it behoved the learned, grave and godly Miniſters of Chriſt to enterpriſe farther, and to ſet forth ſomething more filed from ruſt, and purer. If godly Religion had flouriſhed till this day in England, there ought to have beene a thing better corrected, and many things cleane taken away. Now, when theſe principles be overthrowne, a Church muſt be ſet up in another place, where ye may freely make an order againe, which ſhall be apparent to be moſt commodious to the uſe and edification of the Church. I cannot tell what they meane, which ſo greatly delight in the leavings of Popiſh dregges. They love the things whereunto they are accuſtomed. Firſt of all, this is a thing both trifling and childiſh. Furthermore, this new Order farre differeth from a change.

*Many tolerable fooliſh things in the book by* Calvins *judgment*

*The book trifling and childiſh by* Calvins *judgment*

Therefore, as I would not have you fierce over them whoſe infirmitie will not ſuffer to aſcend an higher ſteppe: ſo would I advertiſe other, that they pleaſe not themſelves too much in their fooliſhneſſe. Alſo, that by their frowardneſſe, they doe not lett the courſe of the holy building. Laſt of all, leſt that fooliſh vaineglory ſteale them away. For what cauſe have they to contend, except it be for that they are aſhamed to give place to better things? But I ſpeake in vaine to them which perchance eſteeme me not ſo well, as they will vouchſafe to admit the counſell that commeth from ſuch an Authour. If they feare the evill rumour in England, as though they had fallen from that Religion which was the cauſe of their baniſhment, they are farre deceived, for this true and ſincere Religion will rather compell them that there remaine, faithfully to conſider into what deepe gulfe they have fallen. For their

downefall ſhall more grievouſly wound them, when they perceive your going forward beyond mid courſe, from the which they are turned. Fare yee well dearely beloved brethren, and faithfull ſervants of Chriſt, the Lord defend and governe you, from *Geneva* this 22. of January *Anno*, 1555.

*Yours John Calvin.*

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VVHen the Letter of *Calvins* was read to them of the congregation, it ſo wrought in the hearts of many, that they were not before ſo ſtout to maintaine all the parts of the Booke of England, as afterward they were bent againſt it. But now to returne. Whiles theſe things were in doing, the congregation (as you have heard afore) could not agree upon any certaine order, till after long debating to and fro, it was concluded, that Maſter *Knox*, Maſter *Whittingham*, Maſter *Gilby*, Maſter *Fox*, and Maſter *T. Cole* ſhould draw forth ſome order meete for their ſtate and time: which thing was by them accompliſhed and offered to the congregation (being the ſame order of *Geneva* which is now in print.) This order was very well liked of many, but ſuch as were bent to the Booke of England could not abide it, yea, contention grew at length ſo hot, and the one party which ſought ſincerity, ſo ſore charged with new fangledneſſe and ſingularity, and to be ſtirrers of contention and unquietneſſe, that Maſter *Gilby* with a godly griefe (as well appeared) kneeled downe before them, and beſought them (with teares) to reforme their judgements ſolemly proteſting, that (in this matter) they ſought not themſelves, but onely the glory of God, as he was verily perſwaded, wiſhing farther that that hand which he then held up were ſtricken off if by that a godly peace and unitie might enſue and follow. In the end another way was taken by the Congregation, which was, that Maſter *Knox*, and Maſter *Wittingham*, Maſter *Parry*, and Maſter *Lever* ſhould deviſe ſome order, if it might be, to end all ſtrife and contention.

*The humbleneſſe of Gilby & his godly zeale.*

*The modeſtie of Knox.*

Theſe foure aſſembled for that purpoſe. And firſt, Maſter *Knox* ſpake to the reſt in this wiſe. For ſo much (ſaith he) as I perceive, that no end of contention is to be hoped for, unleſſe the

the one part ſomething relent, this will I doe for my part, that quietneſſe may enſue. I will ſhew my judgement how (as I thinke) it may be beſt for the edification of this poore flocke, which if ye will not accept, nor follow (after that I have diſcharged my conſcience) I will ceaſe, and commit the whole matter to be ordered by you, as you will anſwer before Chriſt Jeſus at the laſt day, and to this his congregation in this life, &c. Whereupon after ſome conference, an order was agreed upon: ſome part taken forth of the Engliſh Booke and other things put to, as the ſtate of the Church required.

And this order by the conſent of the congregation ſhould continue to the laſt of April following. If any contention ſhould ariſe in the meane time, the matter then to be determined by theſe S. notable learned men, to wit, *Calvin, Muſculus Martyr, Bullenger, & Vyret.* This agreement was put in writing. To that all gave their conſents. This day was joyfull. Thankes were given to God, brotherly reconciliation followed, great familiarity uſed, the former grudges ſeemed to be forgotten. Yea the holy communion was upon this happy agreement, alſo miniſtred. And this friendſhip continued till the 13. of March following; at which time D. *Coxe* and others with him came to Frankeford out of England, who began to breake that order which was agreed upon; firſt, in anſwering aloud after the Miniſter, contrary to the Churches determination, and being admoniſhed thereof by the Seniors of the congregation, hee, with the reſt that came with him made anſwer, that they would doe as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an Engliſh Church. And the Sunday following, one of his company without the conſent and knowledge of the Congregation got up ſuddenly into the Pulpit, read the Letany, and D. *Coxe* with his company anſwered aloud, whereby the determination of the Chnrch was broken. The ſame Sunday at afternoone it came to Maſter *Knox* his turne to preach, who having paſſed ſo farre in *Gen.* that he was come to Noah as he lay open in his tent, he ſpake theſe words following.

*Thie Order was taken the ſixth of Feb.*

*D. Coxe with others come to Frank.*

As divers things (ſaith he) ought to be kept ſecret; even ſo ſuch things as tend to the diſhonour of God, and diſquieting of his Church ought to be diſcloſed and openly reproved. And thereupon

*The effect of* Knox *Sermon.*

thereupon he ſhewed, how that after long trouble and contenſtion among them, a godly agreement was made, and how that the ſame that day was ungodly broken, which thing became not (as he ſaid) the proudeſt of them all to have attempted; alleadging furthermore, that like as by the Word of God we muſt ſeek our warrant for the eſtabliſhing of Religion, and without that to thruſt nothing into any Chriſtian Congregation: So for as much as in the Engliſh booke were things both ſuperſtitious, unpure, and unperfect (which he offered to prove before all men) he would not conſent that of that Church it ſhould be received, and that in caſe men would goe about to burthen that free Congregation therewith; ſo oft as he ſhould come in that place (the Text offering occaſion) he would not faile to ſpeake againſt it.

He farther affirmed, that among many things which provoked Gods anger againſt England, ſlackneſſe to reforme Religion (when time and place was granted) was one. And therefore it became them to be circumſpect, how they laid their foundation. And where ſome men aſhamed not to ſay, that there was no lett or ſtop in England, but that Religion might be, and was already brought to perfection, he proved the contrary, by the want of Diſcipline. Alſo by the troubles which Maſter *Hooper* ſuſtained, for the Rochet, and ſuch like, in the booke commanded and allowed.

And for that one man was permitted to have three, foure, or five Benefices, to the great ſlander of the Goſpel, and defrauding of the flock of Chriſt of their lively food and ſuſtenance. Theſe were the chiefe notes of his Sermon, which was ſo ſtomacked of ſome, eſpecially of ſuch as had many livings in England, that he was very ſharply charged, and reproved ſo ſoon as he came out of the Pulpit, for the ſame.

*D. Coxe ſharply rebuked him.*

The Tueſday following was appointed to talke of theſe things more at large. When all were aſſembled, earneſt requeſt was made that D. *Coxe* with his company might be admitted to have voices in the Congregation. Anſwer was made by others, that the matter yet in controverſie among them, ought firſt to be determined, Secondly, that they ſhould ſubſcribe to Diſcipline as others had done before them, and farther,

ther it was greatly ſuſpected that they had been (ſome of them) at Maſſe in England, and others had ſubſcribed to wicked Articles, as one of them ſhortly after, even in the Pulpit ſorrowfully confeſſed. For theſe conſiderations and ſuch like: The congregation withſtood the admiſſion of D. *Coxe* and his company. *Knox* at laſt began to make intreaty that they might have their voyces among the reſt; to whoſe requeſt when certaine had yeelded, they then became the greater part, & ſo were by them admitted as members of the Church. They thus admitted by the moſt part. D. *Coxe* forthwith forbad *Knox* to meddle any more in that Congregation.

*But that they refuſed, and at length overthrow it.*

*Maſter* Jewell.

The next day being wedneſday, *Whitingham* went to Maſter *John Glauburge* (who was the chiefe meane in obtaining the Church) and brake the matter unto him, declaring how that certaine, now come out of England had forbidden their Miniſter oppointed to preach that day, and intended to ſet up an Order, which he doubted would not be well taken. And therefore, leſt any inconvenience ſhould hap, hee thought good to make him privie thereto. Whereupon the ſaid Magiſtrate ſent immediatly, and gave commandement that there ſhould be no Sermon that day. Afterward he ſent for *Valeran* the French Miniſter, commanding him that two learned men ſhould be appointed of either part, and that he and they ſhould conſult and agree upon ſome good Order, and to make report unto him accordingly. Then were appointed D. *Cox* and *Lever* of the one ſide, and *Knox* and *Whittingham* on the other ſide. To decide the matter, *Valeran* was appointed to put downe in writing what they ſhould agree upon. But when in this conference, they came to the Order of Mattins, and that D. *Cox* ſaid, *Ego volo habere*, there could be no agreement among them, and ſo brake off; whereupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in Latin, and preſented it to the ſaid Maſter *Glauburge*, requeſting him to be a meane, that the ſame might be conſidered of among the Senators. The Engliſh whereof was as followeth.

Knox *put out by thoſe which hee brought in.*

LEt it not moleſt you (moſt grave and worthy Senators) that your affaires are letted with a few words. And leſt we ſhould trouble you with prolixity, you ſhall underſtand the matter briefly. When your great and unſpeakable humanity, through the providence of God had granted us a Church; we undertooke forthwith (as became us) to conſult about the orders of the ſame, and to ſet out a Liturgy. And becauſe we ſaw that in the prolixe and Ceremonious booke of the Liturgy of England, be many things (that we may ſpeak no worſe of it) not moſt perfect, it ſeemed beſt to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our ſelves to the examples of that Church wherein we teach, and to whom wee have ſubſcribed. But when this enterpriſe offended ſome of our Country-men (although the greateſt number agreed unto us) for that we would decline from the decrees of our Elders, hereupon there grew to us for a few moneths no ſmall trouble.

*To wit, the Fren. Church.*

At the length, when there appeared no end, for peace and concord ſake we gave place to their will, and ſuffered them at their pleaſure to pick out of their booke the chiefeſt or beſt things, upon this condition, that the ſame ſhould continue without alteration, at the leaſt unto the laſt day of April, at the which day (if there ſhould any new contention ariſe) that then all the matter ſhould be referred to theſe five notable men, *Calvin*, *Muſculus*, *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Viret*. What needeth many words? This condition was willingly accepted, and the covenant rated on both parts. A writing was alſo thereof to teſtifie the promiſe made of the one to the other. Moreover, thankes were given to God with great joy, and common prayers were made, for that men thought that day to be the end of diſcord. Beſides this, they received the Communion as the ſure token, or ſeale of their mutuall agreement, which was omitted before by the ſpace of three moneths. *Valeran* alſo the French Miniſter was partaker of this Communion, and a further of concord, and a witneſſe of theſe things. Now of late dayes, certaine of our Country-men came to us, who have endeavoured

deavoured by all meanes to obtrude that huge Volume of Ceremonies upon us, to break the covenant, and to overthrow the liberty of the Church granted by your benevolence. And no doubt, this they enterprise and minde to doe under the title and name of your defence, whereby they may abuse the authority of your name, to satisfie their lust. We are here compelled to omit many things which would make for our cause, no lesse rightly than profitably, but we remit these to our brethren for concord sake.

You have here most honourable Senators, a briefe summe of our case, and contention, whereby you may easily understand what to judge of the whole matter.

What manner of Booke this is for the which they so cruelly contend, ye may consider by the Epistle that *Calvin* lately wrote unto us, in the which he hath signified his minde, aswell plainly of the booke, as also of the uprightnesse of our cause. We could have pointed out unto you the foolish and fond things of the booke, but passing over an infinite number of things, this one will we bring for many, the which shall be necessary well to be marked. Within these three yeares arose a great conflict between the Bishops of the Realme, and the Bishop of Glocester, Master *Hooper*, a man worthy of perpetuall memory, whom we heare to be burned of late. This man being made Bishop by King *Edward*, there was obtruded by other Bishops of the same order (according to this booke) a Rochet, and a Bishops robe, this man being well learned, and a long time nourished and brought up in Germany, as soon as he refused these proud things that fooles marvell at, he was cast into prison, and at length by their importunity overcome, and relenting, he was compelled to his shame to give place to their impudency, with the common griefe and sorrow of all godly mindes.

*The Letter a little before.*

*This controversie hath been since K. Edward his raigne as ye see.*

But wherefore speake you of these things will you say, that appertaineth nothing to us? Yes verily, we thinke it toucheth you very much, for if these men armed by your authority shall doe what they list, this evill shall be in time established by you, and never be redressed, neither shall there for ever be any end of this controversie in England. But if it would please your

honorable authority to decree this moderation betweene us, that this whole matter may be referred to the judgement of the five above named, not we alone that are here preſent, but our whole poſterity, yea our whole Engliſh Nation, and all good men, to the perpetuall memory of your names, ſhall be bound unto you for this great benefit. Wee might have uſed moe words in this narration, for we feared not, that we ſhould take reaſons, but rather that time ſhould faile you, letted with more ſerious buſineſſe. Therefore we by theſe things, leave the reſt to the conſideration of your wiſedomes.

The 22. of March, Maſter *Glauburge* came to the Engliſh Church, and ſhewed the Congregation, that it was commanded them by the Magiſtrates (when by his procurement the Church was granted) that they ſhould agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies, and that they underſtood how the falling from that Order had bred much diſſention among them. Therefore he ſtraightly charged and commanded that from thence-forth they ſhould not diſſent from that Order; if they did, as hee had opened the Church doore unto them, ſo would he ſhut it againe. And that ſuch as would not obey thereunto ſhould not tarry within that cittie, willing them to conſult together out of hand, and to give him an anſwer before he departed. D. *Coxe* then ſpake to the Congregation in this wiſe, I have (ſaith he) read the French Order, and doe thinke it to be both good and godly in all points, and therefore wiſhed them to obey the Magiſtrates commandement; whereupon the whole Congregation gave conſent, ſo as before the Magiſtrate departed the Church, D. *Coxe*, *Lever*, and *Whittingham* made report unto him accordingly. D. *Coxe* alſo at that preſent requeſted that it would pleaſe him, notwithſtanding their ill behaviour, to ſhew unto them his accuſtomed favour and goodneſſe, which he moſt gently and lovingly promiſed.

At the next meeting of the Congregation that Order was put in practiſe, to the comfort and rejoycing of the moſt part. Nevertheleſſe, ſuch as would ſo faine have had the booke of England, left not the matter thus. And for that they ſaw *Knox* to be in ſuch credit with many of the Congregation, they firſt

of

of all affaied by a moſt cruell, barbarous and bloody practiſe to diſpatch him out of the way, to the end they might with the more eaſe attain the thing which they ſo greatly ſought, which was the placing of their book. They had among them a book of his, Intituled, *An Admonition to Chriſtians*, written in the Engliſh tongue, wherin by occaſion he ſpake of the Emperour, of *Philip* his ſon, and *Mary* then Queen of England. This book certaine of them preſented to the Magiſtrates who (upon receipt of the ſame) ſent for *Whittingham*, and asked him of *Knox* their Miniſter, what manner of man he was; *Whittingham* anſwered, that ſuch a one there was among them, and to his knowledge both a learned, wiſe, and godly man. Then one of the Magiſtrates ſaid unto him, certaine of your country-men have accuſed him unto us, *Læſa Magiſtatis Imperatoriæ*, that is, of high treaſon againſt the Emperour, his ſon, and the Queen of England; here is the Book, and the places which they have noted, the true & perfect ſence whereof we command you (*Sub pœna pacis*) to bring unto us in the Latin tongue at one of the clock in the afternoone, which thing he did accordingly, at which time (after certaine communication among themſelves, they commanded, that *Knox* ſhould preach no more till their pleaſure were farther known. The words concerning the Emperour were theſe, ſpoken in the Pulpit in a Town of Buckingham ſhire in the beginning of Q. *Maries* raigne, as by the ſaid book appeareth; where it is ſaid, O England, England, if thou wilt obſtinately returne into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with ſuch Princes as do maintaine & advance Idolatry, ſuch as the Emperor (who is no leſſe enemy to Chriſt than was *Nero*) if for the pleaſure and friendſhip (I ſay) of ſuch Princes thou return to thine old abominations before uſed under Papiſtry, then aſſuredly (O *England*) thou ſhalt be plauged & brogh to deſolation by the means of thoſe whoſe favour thou ſeekeſt, & by whom thou art procured to fall from Chriſt & ſerve Antichriſt. There were other 8. places, but this was moſt noted, in that it touched the Emperour. But it ſeemed the Magiſtrates abhorred this bloody, cruell, & outragious attempt, for that when as certain of *Knox* his enemies followed the Magiſtrates to know what ſhould be done with him, they did not onely

Knox *accuſed of treaſon.*

*The places in all were* 8.

ſhew moſt evident ſignes of diſliking their unnaturall ſuite, but alſo ſent for Maſter *Williams*, and *Whittingham*, willing them that Maſter *Knox* ſhould depart the city, For otherwiſe, (as they ſaid) they ſhould be forced to deliver him, if the Emperour his councell (which then lay at Ausburge) ſhould upon like information ſend for him.

*The baniſhment of* Knox.

The 25. of March Maſter *Knox* the night before his departure made a moſt comfortable Sermon at his lodging to fiftie perſons, or thereabout then preſent, which Sermon was of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, and of the unſpeakeable joyes which were prepared for Gods elect, which in this life ſuffer trouble and perſecution for the teſtimony of his bleſſed name. The next day he was brought three or foure mile in his way by ſome, of ſome of thoſe unto whom the night before he had made that Exhortation, who with great heavineſſe of heart and plenty of teares committed him to the Lord.

*Many of the learned men were now come from all places.*

The very ſame day, being the 26. of March, one *Adulphus Glauburge* (a Doctor of Law, and nephew to Maſter *John Glauburge* the Senator) whom D. *Coxe* and the reſt had wonne unto them, ſent for *Whittingham*, and told him that there were preſented to the Magiſtrates three Doctors, thirteene Batchelours of Divinity beſides others, and that the Magiſtrates at their ſuits had granted them the full uſe of the Engliſh Booke, commanding and charging him therefore not to meddle any more to the contrary; for (as he ſaid) it was fully concluded that ſo it ſhould be. And ſuppoſing that *Whittingham* would lett it what he might, the next day againe he ſent for him home to his houſe where he gave the like charge (D. *Coxe* and other preſent by whoſe procurement the ſame was done) *Whittingham* anſwered, that if it were ſo concluded, he would willingly obey, not doubting, but that it might be lawfull for him and others, to joyne themſelves to ſome other Church. But D. *Coxe* beſought the Lawyer that it might not ſo be ſuffered, whereto *Whittingham* anſwered that it would be too great cruelty to force men contrary to their conſciences to obey their diſordered doings, offering, that if it would pleaſe the Magiſtrates to give him and others the hearing, they would diſpute the matter againſt all the contrary part, and prove that the order which

*This Adulphus was before this time a great furtherer of the Church and the Orders of the ſame howſoever lee was turned.*

they

they ſought to eſtabliſh, ought not to take place in any reformed Church. The D. of Law made a plaine anſwer, that diſputation there ſhould be none, uſing his former words of charging and commanding not to deale further in that matter.

When as the congregation heard of the cruell and more than tyrannicall dealings of this Doctor, Maſter *Gilby* and others with him, were ſent to Maſter *John Glauburge* (by whoſe commandement as ye heard, they had received the French Order) putting him in remembrance of the ſame, and ſhewing him that certaine lately come among them had ſought (as they were credible informed) to overthrow their Church by placing the Engliſh booke among them. To this Maſter *Glauburge* made anſwer, that he was informed how that both parties were full agreed and contented, and that thereupon he had committed the whole matter to the Lawyer his couſin. Then he asked for *Whittingham*: it was anſwered that ſtraite charge was given him that hee ſhould meddle no more in that matter. The Magiſtrate asked againe of whom he had that commandement, and when it was told him that the Doctor his couſin had given him that charge, he then began very gently to perſwade with Maſter *Gilby* and the reſt that they ſhould be contented, and he would ſee that nothing ſhould be uſed but that which ſhould be tolerable, and ſo Maſter *Gilby* and the reſt departed.

*Marke the placing of the Engliſh Bo. and of the rejecting the other.*

*Marke this practiſe.*

The 28. of March D. *Cox* aſſembled all ſuch as had beene Prieſts and Miniſters in England to his lodging, and there declared how the Magiſtrates had granted them the uſe of the Engliſh Booke, and that he thought requiſite that they ſhould conſult together, whom they thought moſt meete to be Biſhop, Superintendent, or Paſtor, with the reſt of the Officers, as Seniors, Miniſters, and Deacons. Whereunto Maſter *Chriſtopher Goodman* anſwered, that his opinion was, that they ought firſt to agree upon ſome perfect and godly Order for the Church, and therein to have the conſent of the Congregation, whereby it might appeare, that they contemned not the reſt of their brethren. And further, to proceed to the election, which he thought alſo ought not to be attempted without the conſent of the whole Church. To this was anſwered that for the Order, it was already determined, and other Order than the

*At length they agreed upon the name Paſtor.*

Book

Book of England they ſhould not have, ſo that the perſwaſions of *Goodman* nothing at all prevailed, neither in one thing or other; yea, the proceedings of ſundry perſons (which I could name) were ſuch as if there had been neither Orders, Officers, or Church there before their comming, or any promiſes to be kept of their parts, after they came, as may more plainly appeare to the Reader by this Letter following, written by Maſter *Whittingham* to a friend of his in England, which Letter is (of his owne hand to be ſeen.

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*Grace, mercy, and peace, through Chriſt our Lord.*

*An anſwer to a Letter ſent him out of England.*

AS you require a briefe anſwer to your ſhort Letter, ſo neither time permitteth, nor I intend to trouble you farther then the very neceſſity of the matter asketh. And firſt, for that ye ſeeme to hang in ſuch extreame perplexity, partly becauſe of ſundry talkes, and divers Letters of men of good credit which cauſeth you not a little to marvell; and partly by reaſon of the good opinion once conceived, and yet retained of certaine perſons both godly and learned, which maketh you to doubt: I thinke it beſt, briefly and ſimply to open a few chiefe points upon the which the reſt of the matter dependeth. After certaine moneths that we had here lived in great conſolation and quietneſſe it chanced that as our number did increaſe, ſo ſome entred in, which buſily undermined our liberty, and laboured to overthrow our Diſcipline, which troubles grew at length in ſo great quantity, that by the greateſt part it was concluded, that no man ſhould need hereafter to ſubſcribe to any Diſcipline for as much as they preſuppoſed that none would come hither which ſhould have need thereof. Which done, they altered our orders in prayers and other things, thinking to bring in place the full uſe of the great Engliſh booke, which notwithſtanding, by reaſon of divers imperfections we could not admit, ſo that to grow to a common concord it was agreed and the name of God invocated that the whole matter ſhould be referred to Maſter *Calvin*, Maſter *Muſculus*, Maſter *Martyr*, Maſter *Bullinger*, and Maſter *Viret*, that both parts ſhould draw

draw their Orders, and that to be received, which by the judgements of these five excellent men should be thought most agreeable to a reformed Church. In the meane time every man to stand content with that Order which was then agreed upon and used. But within few dayes after, this determination was broken. A stranger craftily brought in to preach, who had both beene at Masse, and also subscribed to blasphemous Articles; many taunting bitter Sermons were made (as they thought) to our defacing, in so much as Master *Knox*, being desired thereunto of divers, was inforced to purge himselfe in sundry points, and spake his minde freely in the Pulpit, as well in reproving certaine parts of the English book, as declaring the punishment of God which partly had light upon our country for slacknesse in Religion, so as they seemed to take the matter so to heart, that by their false delation in accusing him before the Magistrates of treason against the Emperour, and the Queene, in a certaine book of his writing to our countrymen of England he was commanded to depart.

And the Magistrates understanding their fetches, and greedy searching of their owne glory (who seemed to spare no kind of contention to purchase the same) commanded that wee should receive the French Order, which is according to the Order of Geneva the purest reformed Church in Christendome (whereupon all agreed, and D. *Cox* with others commending the same to the Congregation) gave thankes to the Magistrate in all our names. Here you may note their double faces, who, bearing the Magistrate in hand that they received his commandement joyfully, privily practised, and so laboured underhand, that they made this Magistrate unsay, and so obtained their book, promising notwithstanding, both to the Magistrate, and certaine of the Congregation, as well to prove by the Word of God so much of the book as they would use, as also to set forth the same in writing, that they (before the foresaid Order should be changed) might judge of the equitie thereof. But preferring the joy of their unhoped victory before their promise did neither the one, because they could not, neither the other because they durst not. And yet have they not made an end of their triumph. For beginning in March not

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onely to neglect all orders in the election of their Ministers and other Officers, but also to scoffe and taunt others in their daily Sermons, doe not yet cease, as now appeareth by their slanderous and lying Letters.

But to the end we might be delivered from this unsupportable yoke, God of his mercy hath provided better for us, and for this incommoditie hath granted us a double benefit in so much contrary to their hope, he hath not onely at Basill moved the Magistrates hearts towards us in granting us a Church, but also at Geneva, where, as Gods Word is truely preached, manners best reformed, and in earth, the chiefest place of true comfort. Thus in few lines I have gone about to satisfie your request bearing with time which hasteth, and also following mine owne judgement, which perswadeth me rather to give you a taste of things (which I moved in conscience write as most true) then to fill you with the whole discourse, which if this may not suffice, you may by continuance have at your commandement. Pray for us brother in this our banishment, that the fruits of this uncorruptible seede may spring most abundantly, as we pray continually, that our heavenly Father would so strengthen you with his Spirit of boldnesse, that you may not onely resist, but also triumph over all your enemies, to the glory of God and the confusion of the Adversaries. Know before you judge, and beleeve not all flying tales, keepe one eare open, and report the best.)

*Yours William Whittingham.*

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WHereas Master *Whittingham* in this his Letter makes mention of a Church granted them before at Basill and Geneva; it is to be noted that he himselfe was the man which the oppressed congregation required to travell therein, and through Gods great mercy obtained it with great favour, who (in his Journey) passed by Zuricke to know of Master *Bullinger* what he thought of the Booke of England, for that he (who had reported to Master *Williams*, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, and others, that *Cranmer* Bishop of Canterbury had drawne up

a booke of prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have; the same could not take place, for that hee was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, with other enemies) even he, I say it stood in this, that Master *Bullinger* did like well of the English Order, and had it in his Study. But when *Whittingham* had demanded that question, *Bullinger* told him, that indeede Master *H.* and Master *C.* asked his judgement concerning certaine points of that Booke, as Surplice, private Baptisme, Churching of women, the Ring in Marriage, with such like, which, (as he said) he allowed not, and that hee neither could if hee would, neither would if hee might, use the same in his Church, whatsoever had beene repeated.

*Whittingham* passing from thence to Geneva, Master *Calvin* shewed him a Letter from D. *Coxe* and from fourteene more of Frankford, in which Letter, they partly excused themselves that they put order in their Church without his counsell asked, and partly rejoycing for that they had (as they said) brought the most part that had withstood their doings to their opinion, which notwithstanding, was farre otherwise.

They wrote also, that they had elected a Pastor, two Ministers, foure Seniors, and two Deacons, &c. but how partially they proceeded in their elections (those that were in office, neither discharged, nor yet their consents required) I leave to the consciences of them which saw those disorders.

To this Letter of theirs the contents whereof are above touched, Master *Calvin* answereth in this wise.

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*To the Worshipfull and loving brethren in the Lord Master* Richard Coxe, *and the rest of the English men which now remaine at Frankford.*

PEradventure I answer your Letter (worshipfull friends and brethren) more slowly than either ye hoped or looked for, but for so much as ye know the wayes for a time so to be beset with theeves, that no messenger almost could passe from hence

Book of England they ſhould not have, ſo that the perſwaſions of *Goodman* nothing at all prevailed, neither in one thing or other; yea, the proceedings of ſundry perſons (which I could name) were ſuch as if there had been neither Orders, Officers, or Church there before their comming, or any promiſes to be kept of their parts, after they came, as may more plainly appeare to the Reader by this Letter following, written by Maſter *Whittingham* to a friend of his in England, which Letter is (of his owne hand to be ſeen.

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onely to neglect all orders in the election of their Ministers and other Officers, but also to scoffe and taunt others in their daily Sermons, doe not yet cease, as now appeareth by their slanderous and lying Letters.

But to the end we might be delivered from this unsupportable yoke, God of his mercy hath provided better for us, and for this incommoditie hath granted us a double benefit in so much contrary to their hope, he hath not onely at Basill moved the Magistrates hearts towards us in granting us a Church, but also at Geneva, where, as Gods Word is truely preached, manners best reformed, and in earth, the chiefest place of true comfort. Thus in few lines I have gone about to satisfie your request bearing with time which hasteth, and also following mine owne judgement, which perswadeth me rather to give you a taste of things (which I moved in conscience write as most true) then to fill you with the whole discourse, which if this may not suffice, you may by continuance have at your commandement. Pray for us brother in this our banishment, that the fruits of this uncorruptible seede may spring most abundantly, as we pray continually, that our heavenly Father would so strengthen you with his Spirit of boldnesse, that you may not onely resist, but also triumph over all your enemies, to the glory of God and the confusion of the Adversaries. Know before you judge, and beleeve not all flying tales, keepe one eare open, and report the best.

*Yours William Whittingham.*

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WHereas Master *Whittingham* in this his Letter makes mention of a Church granted them before at Basill and Geneva; it is to be noted that he himselfe was the man which the oppressed congregation required to travell therein, and through Gods great mercy obtained it with great favour, who (in his Journey) passed by Zuricke to know of Master *Bullinger* what he thought of the Booke of England, for that he (who had reported to Master *Williams*, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, and others, that *Cranmer* Bishop of Canterbury had drawne up

a booke of prayer an hundred times more perfect than this that we now have; the same could not take place, for that hee was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, with other enemies) even he, I say it stood in this, that Master *Bullinger* did like well of the English Order, and had it in his Study. But when *Whittingham* had demanded that question, *Bullinger* told him, that indeede Master *H.* and Master *C.* asked his judgement concerning certaine points of that Booke, as Surplice, private Baptisme, Churching of women, the Ring in Marriage, with such like, which, (as he said) he allowed not, and that hee neither could if hee would, neither would if hee might, use the same in his Church, whatsoever had beene repeated.

*Whittingham* passing from thence to Geneva, Master *Calvin* shewed him a Letter from D. *Cox*, and from fourteene more of Frankford, in which Letter, they partly excused themselves that they put order in their Church without his counsell asked, and partly rejoycing for that they had (as they said) brought the most part that had withstood their doings to their opinion, which notwithstanding, was farre otherwise.

They wrote also, that they had elected a Pastor, two Ministers, foure Seniors, and two Deacons, &c. but how partially they proceeded in their elections (those that were in office, neither discharged, nor yet their consents required) I leave to the consciences of them which saw those disorders.

To this Letter of theirs, the contents whereof are above touched; Master *Calvin* answereth in this wise.

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*To the Worshipfull and loving brethren in the Lord Master* Richard Coxe, *and the rest of the English men which now remaine at Frankford.*

PEradventure I answer your Letter (worshipfull friends and brethren) more slowly than either ye hoped or looked for, but for so much as ye know the wayes for a time so to be beset with theeves, that no messenger almost could passe from hence

so you, the excuse of my long delay towards you shall be the easier.

I expresſed my minde frankely to our beloved brother *Thomas Sampſon*, of that whereof I was informed by the Letters of certaine men as touching the contention unluckily ſtirred up among you. For certaine of my friends found themſelves grieved, that you would ſo preciſely urge the Ceremonies of England, whereby it might appeare that yee are more given and addict to your countrey than reaſon would. I confeſſe that I heard certaine reaſons alleadged on your behalfe, which would not ſuffer you to depart from the received Order, but they might be ſoone and eaſily confuted. Now, as I counſelled mine owne friends which diſſented from you, ſomewhat to yeeld, if they might conveniently, ſo it offended me that there was nothing granted or relented on your parts. Becauſe there was no man named unto me, I durſt not enterpriſe to meddle with the matter leſt my credit ſhould incur the ſuſpect of raſhneſſe. Now that ye are more milder and tractable in this controverſie, and that ye have (as ye ſay) ſtilled the matter with quietneſſe, I am very glad.

Verily no man well inſtructed, or of a ſound judgement, will deny (as I thinke) that lights and croſſings, or ſuch like trifles, ſprang or iſſued out of Superſtition; whereupon I am perſwaded that they which retaine theſe Ceremonies in a free choiſe, or when they may otherwiſe doe, they are over-greedy and deſirous to drinke off the dregges; neither doe I ſee to what purpoſe it is to burthen the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies, or as I may terme them with their proper name, hurtfull and offenſive Ceremonies, when as there is libertie to have a ſimple and pure Order. But I keepe in and reſtraine my ſelfe leſt I ſhould ſeeme to beginne to move a new contention of that matter which as you report is well ended.

All good men will allow the Paſtors and other Miniſters Elections with common voyces, ſo that none complaine that the other part of the Church was oppreſſed fraudulently and with craftie practiſes. For it ſtandeth your wiſedomes in hand to conſider, that how much commodity the goodneſſe of the Senate doth deſerve, ſo much envie ſhall you be guilty of, or

charged

charged withall, if you have abused their lenitie or gentleneſſe which were ſo well affected towards your Nation. Yet, I would not have this ſo taken, that I goe about to be prejudiciall to any man, but I had rather ſhew plainely what may be ſaid, then to nouriſh an ill opinion by ſilence, or in holding my peace. But certainely, this one thing I cannot keepe ſecret, that Maſter *Knox* was in my judgement neither godly nor brotherly dealt withall, if he were accuſed by the ſubtill ſuggeſtion of certaine, it had beene better for them to have tarried ſtill in their owne land then unjuſtly to have brought into farre countries the firebrand of cruelty, to ſet on fire thoſe that would not be kindled.

Notwithſtanding, becauſe it grieveth me to ſpeake ſlightly of theſe evills, the remembrance whereof I would wiſh to be buried in perpetuall forgetfulneſſe, therefore I onely counſell you (not without a cauſe) to be wounded, that ye apply your ſelves to make them amends for the fault committed. *They begin pretily.*

When I heard that the one part was minded to depart from thence, I earneſtly admoniſhed them (as it became me) that if they could not well remaine there, that the diſtance of place ſhould not diſſipate, or rent in ſunder their brotherly agreement, for I feared much leſt that ſome privie grudge of the former contention remained. And certainely, nothing could more comfort my heart, than to be delivered from this feare. For if any haply come to us, it would grieve me that there ſhould be (as it were) but a ſuſpition of any ſecret debate between you.

Therefore as touching that ye have written of your agreement, I deſire that it may be firme and ſtable, that if it chance the one part to goe to another place, yet, that you being ſo ſundred by diſtance of places, may keepe faſt the holy band of amity, for the fault already committed is too much, although through diſcord it creepe no further. Wherefore it ſhall well beſeeme your wiſedomes (that ye may be friends) to purge diligently whatſoever remaineth of this breach. Fare yee well brethren, the Lord ſuccour you with his aide, and governe you with his Spirit, powre his bleſſings upon you, and mitigate the ſorrow of your exile. *From Geneva the laſt of May, Anno.* 1555.

*Yours John Calvin.*

BEcause that Master *Calvin* in his Letter maketh mention of lights, some might gather that he was untruely enformed, that in the English Booke lights were prescribed (the contrary whereof appeareth by the description before) where it is manifest to such as be learned, that hee useth the Figure *Auxesis*, and that this is his Argument, *A majore ad minus*, for so much as Lights and Crossings be two of the most ancient Ceremonies, having continued in the Church above thirteene hundred yeares, are yet for such causes abolished: how much more ought all other, that have not had the like continuance, (and yet abused) be utterly removed.

And for that Master *Calvin* in this Letter earnestly wished that all strife should cease, and if that any were minded to depart, their departure might be such, as all occasions of offence might be cut off and cleane taken away. It was thought good to such as were determined to goe away within three weekes after to follow his counsell. And the rather for that some which tooke themselves to be learned, had openly termed their departure a Schisme, whereupon they wrote to the Pastor, Ministers, and whole Congregation this Letter following, and delivered it in the open Congregation.

For so much as through the benefit of God, we have obtained a Church in another place, we thought it good to advertise you of the same. And to the intent that not onely slanderous reports may cease, but also if any offence be either taken or given, the same may come to triall, we desire that you for your part would appoint two Arbitrers, and we shall appoint other two. Who hearing our matters throughly opened may witnesse where the fault resteth, at which time we will undertake to defend our departure to be lawfull contrary to the slanderous reports of some which unlearnedly terme a Schisme. Thus farre brethren we thought good to signifie unto you, thinking this to be the onely meanes of our mutuall quietnesse whereof how desirous we are, our tedious and charitable journey may be a sufficient proofe, being throughly perswaded, that hereby strife may be ended, charity revived, friendship continued,

Gods

God glory advanced, and our brethren edified. Fare ye well this 17. of August.

*William Williams. Thomas Wood. John Escot.*
*William Whitingham. William Kethe. Thomas Crafton.*
*Anthony Gilby. John Kelke. William Walton.*
*Christopher Goodman. John Hilton Laurence Kent.*
*Thomas Cole. Christo. Southon, John Hellingham.*
*John Fox. Nicholas Pinfote. Anthony Carier.*

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WHen the Pastor had read this Letter openly to the Congregation, and was desired to know when they should have an answer, he said unto them, that so farre as he perceived, it required none but that which might presently be made, which was, that they might depart, seing they were so minded. It was replied that for so much as it was manifest that they had bin slandered not only by Letters into divers parts, but also, by some that then were present, who had affirmed their departure to be a Schisme; and further, that they could find no indifferency at their hands: it was thought necessary to commit the hearing of that controversie to learned & indifferent judges by both parties to be chosen, whereby the fault might appeare where it was indeed, and so they either excused or found guilty.

D. *Coxe* at length told them that their Letter should be considered of, and answer should be given them the Friday after. On Friday the 30. of August, both parties met: the Pastor (accompanied with the Ministers and Elders) spake this unto them. It seemeth very fond that arbitrers should be appointed to take up strife that may come hereafter, as your Letter signifieth. And furthermore, ye write, if any offence be taken or given, which seemeth as strange, for this word (*If*) importeth a doubt, so that if yee doubt it is but folly to appoint arbitrers. Finally, to excuse your departure, you call them unlearned which judg it a Schisme, but (saith he) terme it as you list, yet can you not lett men to thinke. And if arbitrers should pronounce it to be none, yet mens opinions will be divers.

Now therefore, your answer shall be, that if any man be offended either with any private man, or publikely, let him or them

complaine

complaine to us, and if they deserue it to the Magistrate.

As for Arbitrers, we will appoint none. Then spake *Whittingham*, and said that it was to him no small wonder that men of such learning and wisdome should so shrinke in a most equall request, and so, without all reason to cavell where no matter was offered. For, as concerning (saith he) the first point, it was not unknowne to them, that at that time, through their occasion there was no small contention, and that seeing they had given such offence, it could not be but that mens mindes were moved.

And therefore, to the end that contention should grow no further. Arbitrers were very necessary, who needed not to deliberate (as he said) of things to come which were uncertaine: but as the Letter truely purporteth, of injuries long agoe begun, yet continued, and hereafter not like to be ended, except some good meane were used to stay their slanderous Letters and false reports, to the utter perishing and losse of meanes, good names. And where ye seeme to be offended that the Letter should call them unlearned, which terme our departure a Schisme (you omit, said D. *Cox* the second point, which is of no small importance) to whom he answered, that hee thought he did them a pleasure in omitting things of so small value, notwithstanding, he would obey his will, but (saith he) as touching this word unlearnedly, it was not unadvisedly placed. For either they be without learning, and therefore may be so called in deede, or if they beare the name of learning, yet in this they shewed their unskilfulnesse, for as much as every departure from a Congregation was not a Schisme, neither were any that departed for just causes Schismatickes as wee (saith he) will prove unto you, if you will take our reasonable and most equall offer. Nay, saith the Pastor; Arbitrers in this point can little availe, for be it they judged it none, yet mens thoughts are free, & we know that all men be not of one mind in Sacraments and Predestination, should men therefore take Arbitrers? Also, saith he, Master *Calvin* and *Bullinger*, are against you. To this was answered, that thoughts, if they were not grounded upon Gods Word, were evill; neither was this controversie of like force with the matter of the Sacraments and predestination,

*Whittingham here interrupted.*

predeſtination, notwithſtanding, would to God that not only the difference in thoſe articles, but alſo in all other which be of weighs and importance might be decided by the authoritie of Gods Word, and arbitrement of godly learned men. But men may juſtly ſuſpect your cauſe to be nought which refuſe the judgements of the wiſe and godly.

And where you ſay that *Calvin* and *Bullinger* are againſt us, you abuſe your ſelfe and their names, for we know both what they and other write as touching this matter.

Then the Paſtor asked what Schiſme was; but cutting off from the body, and that it was *Calvins* definition. To this *Whittingham* anſwered that he would undertake firſt, to prove that definition to be falſe: and ſecondly, to be none of *Calvins* definition, for if every cutting off from the body ſhould be a Schiſme, then you and all other which once had ſworne to the Pope, and now have refuſed him are Schiſmatiques. Then the Paſtor added, from a Church reformed. Anſwer was made, that a Church well reformed muſt be builded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the unitie whereof S. *Paul* comprehendeth in thoſe words, *One God, one Faith, one Baptiſme*; not beggerly Ceremonies and obſcurations, although that ſundry cauſes beſides moved them to depart. Then Maſter *Treherne*, asked whether the Donatiſts were not Schiſmatiques.

Yes, ſaith *Whittingham*, and alſo heritiques, but you are deceived if you thinke that they ſeparated themſelves for Ceremonies. It is manifeſt, ſaid *Treherne*, that the Churches of Aſia were excommunicated as Schiſmatiques for that they kept not Eaſter at the ſame time that the Romane Church did. And it is no leſſe evident, ſaid *Whittingham*, that *Ireneus*, and other godly men, as well of that time, as ſince, have ſharply reproved and condemned Pope *Victor* for the ſame.

Here D. *Coxe* put *Whittingham* in remembrance that he had not anſwered to the faults of the Letter. *Whittingham* told him, that as touching that poore word *(If)* hee marvelled how it could miniſter any cavillation, ſeeing the text joyning thereto was ſo plaine, which declareth both the offences by you given and by us taken. And alſo your conſciences beare you witneſſe, the thing to be moſt true, except a man will be wilfully

blinde, and finde a knot in a Rush, ſo that that word (*If*) meant not that wee doe, doubt who were oppreſſed with infinite wrongs, but if they would diſſemble ſo farre that they might ſeeme to doubt thereof, yet, at the leaſt, they would abide the triall thereof before theſe Arbitrers. But here the Diſputation brake up with this plaine and finall anſwer, that arbitrers they ſhould have none, and that if they found themſelves grieved, they ſhould ſeeke remedy where they thought good, and he the Paſtor, with the reſt of the Congregation would anſwer them.

The next day the Paſtor, D. *Coxe*, Maſter *Parry*, and Maſter *Aſhley* ſent for *Whittingham*, *Thomas Cole*, *John Foxe*, *William Bethe*, *Roger Hart*, *John Hilton*, with certaine others, demanding of them what ſhould be the cauſe of their departure. *Whittingham* made anſwer, that the day before they had declared ſufficiently, and yet would further ſhew reaſons, if they vvould permit the controverſie to Arbitrement. And to the intent they ſhould not counterfeit ignorance (among other) theſe were ſome cauſes: firſt, their breach of promiſe, eſtabliſhed with invocation of Gods name; ſecondly, their orderleſſe thruſting themſelves into the Church: thirdly, taking away the order of Diſcipline eſtabliſhed before their comming, and placing no other: fourthly, the accuſation of M. *Knox* their godly Mininiſter, of Treaſon, and ſeeking his blood: fiftly, their overthrowing of the common Order taken and commanded by the Magiſtrate: ſixthly, the diſplacing of Officers without any cauſe alleadged: ſeventhly, the bringing in of Pupiſticall ſuperſtitions & unprofitable Ceremonies, which were burthens, yokes, and clogges, beſides other things, which, if they would abide the triall, they ſhould heare at large. VVhen he and ſome of the reſt had rendred their reaſons for their departure in this effect; certaine warme words paſſed to and fro from the one to the other, and ſo in ſome heate departed.

Not many dayes after the oppreſſed Church departed from Frankford to Baſill, and Geneva, ſome ſtaying at Baſill, as Maſter *Foxe* with other. The reſt came to Geneva where they were received with great favour and much curteſie, both of the Mageſtrates, Miniſters, and people. So ſoone as they entred their Church, they choſe *Knox* and *Goodman* for their

Paſtors,

Paſtors, and *Gilby* requeſted to ſupply the roome till *Knox* returned out of France.

The learned men which came from all places to Frankford about this matter, when they had done that which they came for, they returned againe from whence they came, and ſome to other places, where they might ſave charges, and not to be either burthened or bound to the exercises of the Congregation ſo that the exile, which was to many a poore man full bitter, grievous and painefull, was to ſome of the greateſt perſecutors of their poore brethren (as it were) a pleaſant progreſſe or recreation.

But now it ſhall be neceſſary to declare what order was taken in this new erected Congregation for the proſperous continuance of the ſame, which thing to doe, I cannot by a better meane than placing here this letter following, which Maſter *Cole* (late Deane of Sarum) wrote to a friend of his, whiles yet he ſtaied (behinde his company) in Frankford among them; his Letter is yet to be ſeene.

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*To the holy Spirit of God that guideth the children of God in truth and godlineſſe be your comfort through our mercies ſeate Jeſus Chriſt, now and for ever, Aman.*

THe tempeſt of the ſwelling ſeas which in times paſt threatned ſhipwracke to every veſſell that ſailed with a faire winde and full ſailes to the port of bleſſed truth, which of her ſelfe is ſtrong enough, without any barre or wall of mans inventions, are ſomewhat (the Lord be praiſed) calmed to me ward, ſo that without farther reaſoning they permit me to my conſcience as touching their Ceremonies.

The cauſe I judge is not for that they beare leſſe love to them then in times paſt, but that they perceive the ſturdy defending of them, to worke them that they looke not for; or rather, that which they are loth to ſee, namely the deceaſing of their company, yet they labour with policy what they may or can, to prevent this danger, but yet that which they feare, I ſuppoſe will fall upon them, unleſſe God give them to repent their old faults, and humble them more to know themſelves.

They have ſet up an Univerſitie to repaire again their eſtima-

tion by maintenance of learning (which surely is well done) that was fondly brought in decay by wilfull ignorance in defending of Ceremonies, to the which Master *Horne* is chosen to be the Reader of the Hebrew Lecture, Master *Mullings* of the Greeke, and Master *Traberne* when he is strong, shall take the Divinity Lecture in hand. Master *Whitehead* was appointed thereunto, but because he would escape the labour of the Lecture (for just causes as he said) he forsooke the pastorall office also, stoutly (as you know) denying to be in office any longer. Great hold there was about this matter in the Congregation, in so much as they hasted to a new election, and very few (as it seemed) were of a contrary minde, no, not his owne friends, saving Master *Makebray* and Master *Sorby*, who desired him to take respite, and the Congregation to give it. But some looking for the office themselves, would not in such a matter suffer delay, but againe demanded of Master *Whitehead*, whether he would keepe his office, or not supposing that he which had so stoutly denied it in word, would not soone be flexible to the contrary. But he perceiving that some would have had him out on the one side, and by leaving of it, his estimation was like to decay on the other side (for many rough words were given him) when occasion of entreaty was offered, *Non respuit conditionem*, by that meanes bringing to himselfe wittily a triple commodity, one, the preventing of them which looked for the office, another, the refusall of the Divinitie Lecture; thirdly, a faster grounding himselfe in that office, which he left in mouth, but as it seemed, not in heart. Thus ended that Comedy.

But shortly after (notwithstanding a vehement Sermon made for the purgation from mans inventions) the seas begin againe to swell (so sickly a element is water) for Master *Bent* having a child to Christen, purposing to have it done simply without beautifying of mens traditions, came with his childe according to the French Order which we once received, and one to hold it there to professe his faith if it were required, but the Pastor denied the Christning, unlesse two Godmothers were had after the order of the booke; as concerning the Godfather, Master *Makebray* (who is now come to that office) supplied

ſupplied it. A lucky matter is attained at Wezel in Weſtphalia, an open Church for our Engliſhmen, to which, becauſe of nighneſſe, they feare many will goe from hence, but moe will come out of England to it. I pray you commend me to *M.* Tell him that Maſter *Wiſedome* railed on them that were gone to *G.* calling them mad-heads, with many pretty names, I will not ſay unwiſely; but I may well ſay uncharitably, in which Sermon, he ſhewed himſelfe an *Antagoniſt* for the Book of England, &c.

*Yours Thomas Cole.*

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SHortly after theſe things, to wit, the ſixth of Jan. When as Maſter *Whitehead* gave up of his owne good will, as hee ſaid, the Paſtorall Office, Maſter *Horne* was in the election to ſucceed him, who proteſted that he would not meddle therewith, till he were cleared of certaine ſuſpitions which ſome had bruted to the diſcredit of the Miniſtry, and obtaining his requeſt; he with the Seniors entred the Church the firſt of March, *Anno Dom.* 1556. where they received all ſuch perſons (as members of that Church) which were contented to ſubſcribe and ſubmit themſelves to the Orders of the ſame. For which time forward the troubles and contentions were ſo ſore among them, that who ſo ſhall well weigh it with due conſideration, I weene, he ſhall thinke it to be the juſt judgement of our righteous God that fell upon them, for ſupplanting a Church there before them in great quietneſſe and of much ſinceritie.

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## The Hiſtory of that ſtirre and ſtrife which was in the Engliſh Church at Frankford, from the 13. day of Jan. *Anno Domini* 1557. forward.

THere fell a certaine controverſie the 14. day of Jan. at Supper between Maſter *Horne* the Paſtor, and Maſter *Aſbey*, which controverſie was handled with ſomewhat more ſharpe words than was meete; but yet they ſo departed, by the induſtry and labour of ſome certaine perſons, that they dranke wine one to another, and all that ſtrife and contention was

thought to be wholy taken away. Afterward, to wit, the 16 day of Jan. at one of the clocke in the afternoone, three of the Elders ſent for Maſter *Aſhley* into an houſe of one of the Elders, and they began to debate the matter with him touching an injury done, not to the Paſtor onely, but to all the Elders (as they affirmed) and to their Miniſtery, which thing Maſter *Aſhley* denied that he ever did at any time.

The next day, being the 17. of Jan. After that publique Prayers were ended, Maſter *Aſhley* was by the Paſtor and all the Elders called into the Church, and there, in the name of them all it was objected unto him, that he had ſpoken upon the 13. day of Jan. in ſupper while, certaine words tending to the ſlander of them and their Miniſtery.

*Aſhley* anſwered, that he perceived and underſtood that they all were offended as in their owne matter, and that therefore he would not anſwer before them as competent Judges of the cauſe, but would referre the cauſe that he had againſt the Paſtor and them (ſeeing they ſhewed themſelves an adverſary part to him) to the whole Church and Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline. Then the Paſtor exhorted him that he would not ſo proceed, for if he ſo did, that then they were minded to ſeeke and demand helpe of the Magiſtrate againſt him. After that, the 24. of Jan. *Aſhley* himſelfe handled his owne cauſe in his owne name before the Paſtor and Elders, and then in the afternoone he ſent two men of the Church, who in his name require the Paſtors and Elders that they would not proceed againſt him in that cauſe, wherein they themſelves were a part, and therefore not fit or competent Judges, but to give over the whole matter to eight or ten men upright in conſcience and inclining to neither part, by whoſe judgement, if he were found in fault, he would willingly ſubmit himſelfe to all Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline. Anſwer was made him by the Paſtor in the name of them all, that they had received their authoritie from the whole Church, and would retaine and keepe the ſame, till ſuch time as they from whom they had received it, would againe demand it. And in the meane while, they purpoſed to proceed thereafter againſt all ſuch as had offended, and ſo much the more ſeverely and ſharply againſt Maſter *Aſhley*, by how

how much it might be more profitable, for the whole Church, to make him, being a worſhipfulman, an enſample to others to take heed and beware by *Aſbley* (that anſwer being received the 26. of Jan. which was a day of ſolemne prayer) fearing thoſe things which *Horne* had ſaid before, threatning him with the Magiſtrate, when common prayer was ended declared the whole matter to the Church, and deſired that the Church would underſtand of the whole matter betweene the Paſtor and Elders as the one party, and himſelfe as the other.

Whereupon certaine men did in the name of the whole Church, demand of the Paſtor and Elders, whether they were apart againſt *Aſbley*. The Paſtor anſwered in all their names that they were not apart againſt him, but that *Aſbley* had ſlandered them all. Againe, it was demanded in the name of the Church who were his accuſers, to which when the Paſtor anſwered nothing, neither in his owne name, nor in the name of the Seniors; *Aſbley* was commanded by the Church, publiquely and openly to reade thoſe things which he had comprehended in writing concerning his cauſe. Afterward the Paſtor and Elders were asked whether thoſe things which *Aſbley* had read were true. The Paſtor anſwered in all their names, that they would not anſwer either more largely or any otherwiſe, to any queſtions then they had erwhile anſwered, and ſo the Congregation was diſmiſſed without anſwer, yet not without contempt as was thought. The ſame day at afternoone, M. *Hales* (who was abſent when theſe things were done) underſtanding that this matter tended to more grievous ſtrife & contention, did write his Letters to ſome certaine perſons that ſeemed deſirous of the peace of the Church, and deſired, that they would come together the next day after to the Church, to conſult, and deliberate what were the beſt way to pacifie this trouble and turmoile before it waxed more ſtrong, or ſhould be more publiſhed abroad, or made better knowne to the Senate or Magiſtrates.

The very drift and purpoſe of the Letters, together with them that were called, as they alſo which came to the place appointed, doth appeare by the Letters themſelves, the Copy whereof inſueth.

The

## The Superſcription.

*To the Brethren of the Engliſh Church.*

*Maſter Crawley.* *Maſter Newel.* *Maſter Davies.*
*Maſter Ruiton.* *Maſter Carell.* *Maſter Bentham.*
*Maſter Warcope.* *Maſter Kents.* *Maſter Brikecke.*
*Maſter Falconer.* *Maſter Kelke.* *Maſter Suiton.*
*Maſter Chriſto. Hales.*

*John Hales ſendeth greeting in the Lord.*

I Heare brethren, that which is to mee grievous to heare, to wit, that ſtrifes are riſen in our Church, which tend either to the diſſolution of the Church, or to the hurt and deſtruction of the poore, wherefore I pray you, whoſe names are in the Superſcription of the Letters, that (if you ſhall ſo think good) we may meete to morrow in the morning in our Church, there to conſult and take advice what may be the beſt way to quiet this ſtirre, to the glory of God, and our owne quietneſſe. God giue us his Peace. *This* 26. *of Jan.* 1557.

*Your loving Brother* John Hales.

*I pray you, that ſo many of you as will meete at the time and place appointed, to put downe your names, leſt ſome perhap may come in vaine. Now all thoſe whoſe names are before rehearſed came, except Maſter* VVarcope.

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AFter conſultation and adviſe taken, it ſeemed beſt to all them that were called together and met there, that the next day after, one of them in all their names ſhould deale with the Paſtor and Elders, that ſith *Aſbley* complained that they were adverſary part unto him, they would ſuffer the Church, or ſome ſuch certaine perſons as the Church ſhould appoint, to take knowledge of the cauſe, and to heare firſt whether they were an adverſary part to *Aſbley*, which if they were not found ſo be, then the knowledge of the matter ſhould be put backe againe to them, and that with the ignominie and ſhame of him that had appealed from them. But if they were found

found to be adverſary part, that then it ſhould ſeeme unjuſt, that they ſhould ſit in their owne cauſe as Judges, but more meete and upright it would be, that then the Church ſhould know & underſtand of the vvhole matter, vvhereupon the next day after, that is to ſay, the 18. of Jan. vvhen prayers vvere ended, the matter vvas propoſed to the Paſtor and Elders, by one appointed for that purpoſe. When this counſell was once known, the Miniſter by the conſent of the Elders, drew out of his boſome a Decree vvhich the Magiſtrate of that city had made, and read it vvith a loude voyce before the whole Church. The Decree being read, he added in grave vvords, that theſe our Aſſemblies and meetings vvould be very dangerous, not to us onely, but to all the Congregations of ſtrangers; for it was greatly to be feared, leſt the Magiſtrate being offended vvith ſuch meetings, did not ſhut up the gates of our Church alone, but alſo of all the ſtrange Churches. And therfore that he (to the end he might in good ſeaſon provide for ſuch dangers) would ſurely by Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline handle according to his deſert, Maſter *Hales* (who then by occaſion of ſickneſſe vvas abſent) the Author of that aſſembly, and that he vvould pronounce of us generally, that if it were not Schiſmaticall, yet, that it did without doubt tend to Schiſme, howſoever we excuſed our mindes and purpoſes. Moreover, he affirmed, that we had done very ill, in that vve had excluded, and ſhut out certaine which came into the Church in the time of our conſultation and meeting. Anſwer vvas made in the names of the Church, that that Decree of the Magiſtrate, vvas by them before, both read over throughly, and alſo very diligently weighed, and that they judged that decree to be moſt upright and juſtly to be feared of vvicked and lewd men, ſuch as were Sectaries and factious perſons, and that they did aſſuredly know that the threats of that Decree did nothing at all concerne them vvho vvere met together to make peace and unitie, and that they for this deed did ſo little feare the anger and diſpleaſure of the Magiſtrate, that they truſted the Magiſtrate vvould praiſe them for this matter, if perhaps he knew of the thing it ſelfe, and that therefore they were aſſembled and come together that the vvhole matter might be quietly ended among

themſelves and not brought before the magiſtrate. For (ſaith they) were we banished men, and had by the meanes of a very good magiſtrate, received that ſingular and moſt excellent benefit of reſt and quietneſſe, we ſhould do that which ſhould be moſt unfit and unſeemely for us, if we ſhould by occaſion of our ſtrifes and hurliburlies, trouble the Magiſtrate, and to render unto that very good Magiſtrate unquietneſſe, troubles and ſtirs which ſhould be very evill thankes, for ſo great a benefit of quietneſſe and reſt as wee have received. And we affirme that we ſo much the more diligently and willingly laboured in pacifying and ending this controverſie, becauſe there were amongſt us certaine, who raſhly and without adviſe, brought unto the Magiſtrate all light and ſmall controverſies, which might eaſily have been determined & ended among our ſelves; herein deſerving no favour at all either at the hands of ſo good a Magiſtrate, whom they oft times without cauſe troubled, or of their countrey men, whom they by theſe their privie complaints and accuſations did among ſtrangers ſlander as unquiet and troubleſome men, and that they had done no leſſe diſpleaſure to the Goſpell we profeſſe; (which by occaſion of ſuch accuſations, is commonly evill ſpoken of among the adverſaries) then to that ſo good a Magiſtrate, and to their owne countrey men. And that wee therefore (to the end the Magiſtrate might not be troubled, nor our Nation ſlandered as unquiet and troubleſome, nor the word of God through us evill ſpoken of) met together to take counſell and adviſe how all the matters might be peaceably ended, and for no other cauſe or purpoſe. And where it was objected that in that decree of the Magiſtrate, there was no mention at all made, either of the whole Church, or of the authoritie of the whole Church: We anſwer (ſay they) that wee doe not ſo interpret the Magiſtrates decree, as though it were the Magiſtrates minde and pleaſure to take from the Church the right and authoritie due to the Church, and make the whole Church ſubject to ſome certaine perſons. For wee both well enough know by the example of the French Church in a like controverſie, and we have tryed that ſo very good a Magiſtrate hath very great care of the Church. And as concerning Maſter *Hales*, it

was

was answered, that he was then absent, by reason of his sicknesse, and not for feare, or that he was guiltie to himselfe of any ill.

And concerning our whole purpose and businesse, because it was said, though our minds perhaps were upright, yet the deed it selfe was, if not schismaticall, yet verily tending to schisme; answer was made in all our names, that wee would render acount as well of our minds and purpose before God, as of our deed before the whole Church, and that under perill and paine of the last punishment that Ecclesiasticall discipline can appoint, or if the matter so require, before the civill Magistrate in paine of our life. And as touching them that were not admitted into the Church to our consultation, it was answered that we were unjustly accused, for that it was not a publike and common assembly of the whole Church, but a meeting of some certaine persons to consult of that which might be profitable, and that therefore they had no greater injury done them in not being at the consultation, to which they were not called or sent for, then if they had not beene admitted into some certaine private stove or house. For as touching the Church, seeing it was then emptie and voyd of people, it was as it were, a private house; Neither is every assembly met, there to be counted the Church. For when the Pastor, or some other readeth there a Lecture, or moderateth the disputations, it is not then a Church, but a Schoole; and therefore not the place, but the company of men gathered together did make a Church or Congregation. Afterwards, it was scarcely by many words obtained of the Pastor and Seniors, that the Church might without their favour and good will meete together for the finishing and taking up of this controversie, and uprightly determine whether the said Pastor and Elders were an adversary part to *Ashley* yea or no, which thing yet at the length the Pastor and Elders granted to the Church: and the Pastor and Elders being required and desired that they would together be present with us in the Congregation, they answered that there was no such need, neither that they would at any hand hinder us. The next day after, to wit, the 29. of *January* the Pastor and Elders agreeing thereto, as it is said before, when the

vvhole Church vvas met together; Maister *Hales*, vvho then vvas somewhat better, and vvas present vvhen they began to take advise and counsell, rose up and spake to this purpose. My brethren (saith he) seeing I am accused of the Pastor before the vvhole Church, as the author of Schisme, or of a Schismaticall fact, or at the least tending to Schisme, if you also judge of me in like sort I vvill depart out of this company, as one being unmeete to tarry among you in this assembly. This being said, he addressed himselfe to depart: Afterwards, he vvas called backe by all the men there assembled, and intreated to abide among them. Afterward he drew forth those Letters by vvhich he had called certaine men together to make peace, and end the stirre, as is before said, and preferred them to the Church to be openly read. Which Letter being read, that his deed vvas judged of all them that vvere present, both honest and most meete for a Christian man, neither that any man that had called either others to make peace by their meeting, was for such a fact to be accounted a Schismaticke. Then they were all desired, that seeing they had so judged and determined, they vvould appoint this their sentence to be registred and put downe in vvriting, that it might stand in stead of a record and testimony, not for Maister *Hales* onely, but for all other in the like case; and vvithall, that this new and present upstarting matter might by their judgements be decided and ended, lest it might bring forth and stirre up new contentions among them. Whereupon it vvas put downe in vvriting to this effect. If two, foure, eight, twelve, or moe or lesse, met in the Church vvhen it vvas voide of people, prayer and other exercises, or else in private houses to make peace betweene some members of the Church, or to consult of any other thing profitable for the Church, that that their deed and act should not in any case be judged or esteemed unorderly, seditious, Schismaticall, or tending to Schisme.

Neither that he, vvhich either by vvriting or vvord of mouth had so called them together should be thought to be the author of any Schisme, or a Schismaticall, fact or tending to Schisme and division. And because now no place of speaking in the Congregation without offence, did seeme any more

to be left to any man: It was ordained the ſaid 29. of Jan. that if ſhould be lawfull for any man having before deſired of the Paſtor, Elders, and whole Church licence and liberty to ſpeak, to ſhew his judgement and opinion in the Church without any reproch of a diſordered deede therefore, ſo it be that he did it godly, quietly, and ſoberly; If he ſhould ſpeak any ungodly thing, that then it was lawfull for the Paſtor and Seniors, or any of them forthwith to command him to hold his tongue. The laſt day of Jan. being the Sabbath day, after morning prayer was ended, pardon was offered of all private offences, by the Paſtor in his owne name, and the name of the Elders to all the people of the Church, and in like ſort the people were deſired to pardon them; yet in ſuch ſort this was done, that the Paſtor and Elders would reſerve to themſelves ſuch cauſes as concerned their Miniſtery, to be purſued and followed of them. It was anſwered againe in our names of the Church, that we in like ſort did pardon all men, all private grudges, yet, that the Church did according to their example reſerve unto it ſelfe publike cauſes belonging to the Church, and the liberty thereof quietly and Chriſtianly to be purſued and followed, which anſwer although it were meaſured by the rule of that pardon and forgiveneſſe which the Paſtor had before offered, yet, it did no whit at all pleaſe him, which thing alſo I warrant you he did not diſſemble. Afterwards the Paſtor and Elders ſuffered that the ſame day in the afternoone, the Church ſhould againe meete, and ſhould trie out and know the matter betweene them, and *Aſhley*, to wit, whether they were an adverſary part to *Aſhley* yea or no: But the Paſtor and Elders being deſired that they alſo would be preſent, they would not thereto agree. Wherefore the Church being gathered together in the afternoone, it was judged by the teſtimony of ſome meete men, and by this alſo, that in the whole Church there could no other be found that would accuſe *Aſhley*, but the Paſtor and Elders (for it was three times very diligently enquired of, and publiſhed among the people, that if there were any in the whole Church, that either would or could accuſe Maſter *Aſhley*, hee ſhould then utter it) it was I ſay judged and determined that the Paſtor and Elders were an adverſary part to Maſter *Aſhly*,

and that therefore they were not fit and competent judges in that matter. Furthermore, it was fully decreed that the Paſtor and Elders in ſuch cauſes as in which they were an adverſary part were not fit arbitrers or judges, but that ſuch cauſes did appertaine and belong, eyther to the knowledge of the Congregation, or of ſuch as the Congregation would appoint to that purpoſe. And becauſe the Paſtor and Elders have beene oftentimes deſired to be preſent with us, and yet would not (notwithſtanding that they themſelves ſuffered the Congregrtion to meete together) leaſt perhaps ſome deceit might be among many of the Congregation, as though it were not of it ſelfe lawfull, or to ſmall purpoſe to appoint any thing without the Paſtor and Elders (which thing afterward tried) it was decreed that if the Paſtor and Elders were required to bee preſent at an aſſembly, and would not come, that the aſſembly was lawfull notwithſtanding their abſence, and that thoſe things which they decreed ſhould be had and eſteemed as a lawfull, decree. Theſe Eccleſiaſticall decrees and ordinances, which even now we rehearſed were ſubſcribed unto, with the names of 33. perſons, which is a great deale the bigger part of the Church, and the 2. of February were offered up to the Paſtor and Elders in the name of the whole Church with this proteſtation following. We preſent unto you theſe our decrees and ordinances agreeing with right and reaſon, and not contrary to the holy Scriptures, deſiring to have you know them, and further requiring that you would with us conſent, yeeld, and preſcribe to the ſame; or if ye will not ſo doe, ſhew we pray you upright reaſons and good cauſes why ye refuſe. For we are ready to correct and amend our faults if they be ſhewed us, at the mention of any private perſon, but much more at yours the Paſtor and Elders. For as we deſire their wiſedomes to come to perfect truth, ſo we will not thorough ſtubbernneſſe defend any errour, being ſhewed unto us to be an errour indeed. Yet notwithſtanding, afterward upon the aforeſaid day of February, the Paſtor did in his owne name, and in the name of the Elders, openly reade certaine written letters, to which he and the Seniors had before in the preſence of the Church ſubſcribed their names. The ſumme thereof was this; Seeing the Church had left unto them a vaine ſhadow onely of authoritie without any

*Maſter Nowel was the mouth for the reſt.*

other

other matter, that therefore they did in our preſence ſhake off from themſelves and utterly forſake all Eccleſiaſticall miniſtery and ſervice to the Church.

Among other things they added this, that we had given them a cauſe to complaine of us to the Magiſtrates, but that for our ſakes they would not do it Afterward ſome of them departed & ſate downe in private mens places, neither would they ſuffer ſo much as to be called by the name of Paſtors & Elders: then one in the name of the whole, having fully ſhewed before, that there was no juſt cauſe given them by the Church, ſo to forſake their miniſtery, did afterward in the name of the whole Church earneſtly deſire them that they would not in ſuch manner forſake & leave the Church that had deſerved no ſuch thing at their hands.

This was with moſt earneſt and effectuall words required of them, three or foure times in the name of the whole Church, but they remained wilfull & obſtinate in their purpoſe, not ſo much as once ſuffering themſelves to bee called by the name of Paſtors and Elders. Then at the length, it was ſhewed unto them in the name of the whole Church, that the Church would not admit that their forſaking of their miniſtery, but would ſtill take and eſteeme them for their Paſtor and Elders. And when one in the name of the Church did accuſe the Paſtor and *Chambers* to be ſuch as had abuſed the Church, leaving it and forſaking it in ſuch manner, without any cauſe or reaſon ſhewed, and did in the name of the Church deſire them to make anſwer unto him concerning this great deed, they utterly refuſe the ſame. But *Horne* who then was Paſtor, haſtily taking a pen, wrote to this purpoſe in a piece of paper in his owne name, and in the name of the Elders. Whereas we are urged and preſſed by one in the name of the Church to make anſwer, we generally anſwer, that when ſoever wee ſhall bee ordinarily demanded before the Church, or them which the Church ſhall appoint, we will then anſwer, or if we ſhall be called before the civill Magiſtrate wee will there anſwer: other anſwer then this they would give none, to any of the queſtions which we had propoſed in all our names of the Church, (and they aſſigned this writing by putting to their names) whereas indeed this was not onely to anſwer nothing at all, but alſo to pretend a cloaked cauſe of anſwering nothing at all. Moreover, they were deſired in the name

of

of the Church, that they would deliver to the Church the letters ſigned with their owne hands, by which they had ſhewed their renounſall and denying of the Miniſtery: or if they would not doe that, that then againſt a certaine day they would grant and give to the Church a copy thereof. But neither would they give them the letters which they had in their boſome, neither would promiſe any copy to the Church, who moſt earneſtly required the ſame of them. At the laſt the Paſtor and Elders departed, ſome certaine few following them, but the multitude remained, and ſo farre forth as they could remember, committed to writing the acts of that day, and the ſumme of thoſe letters (by which the Paſtor and Elders had willingly put themſelves from the Miniſtry) and for witneſſe ſubſcribed thereto with thirty and their names. The next day after, that is, the third of February, the Paſtor and the Elders being called of the Church by the Deacon, to intreate of making peace, they came together and met. But the Paſtor and Elders ſet them downe in private places. Afterwards, the Paſtor (becauſe one ſpeaking in the Congregation did not by and by ſo ſoone as he bade him hold his peace) fained that he would depart. But when hee perceived that very few followed him, and by ſome counſelled, he returned, and ſuddenly placed himſelf in the Paſtors place, and called the Elders to him, which thing, before he had refuſed to doe, although hee were by the whole Church very inſtantly and earneſtly required thereto. Then, he ſpake to this effect: wee indeed (ſaith he) did diſplace our ſelves from the Miniſtery, notwithſtanding, abſolutely and fully we did it not, but under this condition onely, if you ſhould proceed to deale in ſuch ſort as you have done againſt the old and received Diſcipline. Now then, if yee goe forward as you have appointed and purpoſed, then will wee wholly and altogether diſplace our ſelves from our Miniſteries; but if you will obey the old Diſcipline, then will we continue Paſtor and Elders as we are. Anſwer was made that there was nothing at all contained in the old Diſcipline, whereby they might meddle with, or proceed againſt the Paſtor and Elders, if perhaps they were found faulty, and in ſome offence. Moreover, that there was nothing put downe concerning ſuch

cauſes,

cauſes, as in which the Paſtor and Elders were an adverſary part, and therefore it was deſired that they would ſuffer the diſcipline in that behalfe to be amended, & to be made more perfect. Now the Paſtor being offended as it ſhould ſeeme, with ſo free ſpeech, would immediatly againe have been gone, and ranne even to the Church dore, but yet ſeeing but few following him, by the counſell and adviſe of certaine perſons he returned, and ſate himſelfe downe in the Paſtors place with the Seniors.

And in like ſort, by and by againe upon the ſuddaine, he ranne for the third time, but within a little while after he returned and planted himſelfe in the Paſtors accuſtomed place. Afterwards intreatie was made with the Paſtor and Elders in the name of the Church, that they would ſuffer *Aſhleys* cauſe (in which matter they themſelves were found at the length to bee an adverſarie partie) and the hearing thereof to come before the Church, and that the Church would (if *Aſhley* were found faultie) very ſharpely and ſeverely puniſh him, and in this behalfe aboundantly ſatisfie the Paſtor and Elders, and all good men. But the Paſtor and Elders would at no hand ſuffer that. And as concerning the amending of the diſcipline, the Paſtor ſaid that he and the Elders with certaine others by the authoritie of the Church, being joyned unto them would (if the Church ſo thought good) amend the diſcipline; but anſwer was made unto both, in the name of the Church. Firſt, that it was very unjuſt that the Church ſhould not bee ſuffered to have judgement and determination. For thereby the authoritie and right of the Church was wholly as it were taken from the Church. To the ſecond it was anſwered, that ſith ſuch ordinances and decrees were to bee made, as by which the Paſtor and Elders ſhould bee hereafter detained in dutie (ſome of them alſo being already accuſed) it ſhould bee unjuſt dealing to admit them to the framing and making of ſuch decrees. And when they affirmed they would anſwer no other thing, and they were deſired to ſuffer thoſe things to bee committed to writing which were done already, they would not agree, but the Paſtor ſaying he was a cold, made himſelfe ready to depart, and going his way, a few following

him, he pronounced, that he diſſolved the aſſembly. But the company that tarried in the Church, and wrote the doings of the day by their decree, and appointed eight men to amend the diſcipline, and afterwards to offer it the Church to be ſeene of them, did alſo appoint other eight men (of which eight, three alwayes ſtucke to the Paſtor) arbitrers and judges to decide the cauſe betweene the Paſtor and Elders, and *Aſhley*. Theſe are their names, Maſter *Railton*, Maſter *Warcope*, Mr. *Relke*, Mr. *Faulconer*, Mr. *Bentham*, Mr. *Cockroft*, Mr. *Carell* and Mr. *Wiſon*. Three of theſe were addicted to the Paſtor, but Mr. *Bentham* and Mr. *Relke* alwayes ſhewed themſelves indifferent and equall to both ſides. From that time forwards the Paſtor and Elders, and certaine others being oftentimes called of the Church, by the Deacons, and certaine other, to intreate of making peace and agreement, would never apeare or be preſent.

Moreover the Paſtor and the Deacons, and certaine paine-full poore men, ceaſed both from preaching, and alſo the Eccleſiaſticall Lectures and other ordinary functions and charges which they ought to have executed, neither would they come to ſolemne and publike prayers in the Church. Notwithſtanding the Church yet, through Gods favour obſerved both publike Prayers, Sermons, and Eccleſiaſticall Lectures, and all other things accuſtomed, and minded to keepe them ſo long as the godly Magiſtrates ſhould ſuffer and grant the ſame. And no other matter did ſo much ſpread abroad throughout the Citie as the fame and report of our ſtrifes, and as the deed of Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers*. For when they of themſelves had forſaken the Church, and had by their example ſtirred up ſome other with their families to doe the like, and ſome of theſe now frequented, and went, partly to the French Church, and partly to the Germane Churches; the matter now could not any longer bee hid, and in ſecret, ſeeing it was publiſhed and knowne, not thorough the Citie alone, but the fame thereof ranne to other ſtrangers alſo; vvhich matter and buſineſſe vvith their brethren, vvould to God they had choſen rather to have had it ended quietly and peaceably in their owne Church, then in ſuch troubleſome ſort, to have conſulted ſo greatly both to their owne diſhoneſtie and ours. The fourth

day

day of February, which was Thursday, and appointed for publike prayer, the Pastor vvho that day should have preached, and all the Elders were absent. Now the Pastor being before the Deacon, desired in the name of the Church that either he himselfe vvould preach, or appoint some other in his place; made answer, that neither vvould he preach himselfe nor appoint any other; for that matter did nothing at all belong unto him. After Prayers were ended some there were that disputed and reasoned in the Pastors behalfe and said, that that assembly which remained after the Pastors departure (in as much as he had authoritie to call together the Church, and to breake up the assembly, and hee going his way sayd, that hee brake up that assembly) was no lawfull assembly. To whom it was (in the name of the Church) answered, that Master *Horne* had put out himselfe from his Pastorall dutie, and therefore, both for that matter, and many other recited before among the Acts of the 2. day of February, he had not any authoritie, or any manner of right either to gather together or to breake up the Assembly. And although it vvere granted that hee vvere their lawfull Pastor, yet, it vvas affirmed the Church was above the Pastor, and not the Pastor above the Church, and that therefore though the Pastor departed, before the Acts of that day vvere confirmed, and pronounced that he brake up the Assembly, yet vvas the Assembly which remained and tarried behind a lawfull Assembly, and had authoritie to make effectuall decrees, by which they might binde all and every member of the Church vvithout exception. And that this question (vvhether the Pope vvas above the Church, or the Church above the Pope) vvas stirred up in the counsells of *Constance* and *Basil*, and vvas decided also by the authoritie of the Schoole of *Paris* joyned thereto. Now they vvhich reasoned in the Pastors behalfe, did seeme by the space of certaine dayes after, to approve these two councells, for they placed the Pastor above the Church. They brought forth openly all the old store and houshold stuffe of *Pighius* and *Eckius* of the primacie of the Pope under the name of the Pastorall authoritie and for the proofe thereof. The Acts and disputations of that day vvere in testimony, signed and confirmed with

two and thirtie names. The 5. of February, Master *Horne* and the Seniors being required of the Congregation by a Deacon to come and treate of reconciliation would not appeare. After this there were 3. Messengers sent from the Congregation unto them, of whom, one was to be specially reverenced of all that be of the Congregation, both for his age and gravitie, the other 2. specially well learned, to the intent they should be moved by these so honest a company of Messengers sent by the Congregation. These men, when they had in the Churches name instantly desired, and prayed them that they would come to the Congregation, & there commune brotherly among themselves for a quiet agreement to be had, so as the matter might not come to the Magistrates eares, nor bee bruted any further abroad, to the great infamy of our nation, could doe no good with them at all, for they said they would not come unlesse they were ordinarily called. As for other answer, at that present they would make none. When this answer was declared to the Congregation, it was determined, that for as much as *R. Horne* had openly put himselfe out of his Pastorship by writing subscribed with his own hand, and confirmed the same by words & deeds, in long abstaining from preaching, and other pastorall functions, & affirming that such matters were no point of his charge: In as much as now being called of the Church, he will not appeare, and so abstaineth altogether from publike prayers, and all Ecclesiasticall meetings: And for as much also as the Seniors come not at the meetings of the Church, lest the Congregation through the forwardnesse of the said *Robert Horne*, and absence of the Seniors, being void and destitute of common Prayer, Preaching, and reading the Scriptures, should be utterly dissolved, that certain men should take charge of the Church, and for all things to be done in the Congregation as it hath by Gods goodnesse beene yet hitherto done.

Other decrees also which are specified in the Acts of the 5. day of Febr. they established: all which, everie one that was present confirmed by his name subscribed with his owne hand, as they were wont to do in other acts and decrees. And to the decrees of that day subscribed 32. hands. But in this behalfe both Master *Horne* and Master *Chambers*, and other in their



behalfe

behalfe did finde very much fault with us, for that we had proceeded unordinarily, that is (you muſt underſtand) contrary to the old diſcipline: For where they could not juſtly finde fault with thoſe things that the Church had done, they made cavillation at the manner of doing of things, as an unordinary manner. And we anſwered, as well many other things grew now by occaſion of that matter, as this chiefly: in caſe Maſter *Chambers* or any other man, either would or could ſhew any ordinary way in the old diſcipline whereby the Congregation, or any other might commence matter, and proceed againſt him, or againſt the Senior or Seniors being accuſed; or how we might proceed ordinarily according to the old diſcipline in cauſes, wherein he and the Seniors were the one part, as they now were proved to be: And if Maſter *Horne*, or any other man either would or could ſhew the title or words in the old diſcipline, wherein this ordinary way is ſet forth and conteined: Then we would confeſſe that we had gone amiſſe out of the ordinary way and old diſcipline. But if neither he, nor any other would or could ſhew in deed, that they would not be diſcontent at us that reduced the Congregation to their right authoritie, and amended that old diſcipline as a thing amiſſe, or filled it up as a thing unperfect, and brought the matter to the hearing of the Church as it ought to be: And that they would at length give over to vaunt themſelves ſo of the order which they never had, or to blame us hereafter for proceeding unordinarily. The ſumme of this anſwer, we devided into certaine Articles, and ſent them privately to Maſter *Horne* to peruſe, requiring his anſwer to the ſame, and alſo we ſticked them upon the pulpit in the Church, where they remained a great many dayes. And where it was required in that ſame writing that Maſter *Horne*, or the Seniors, or ſome other man ſhould make anſwer unto theſe matters, there is no man yet hitherto that hath made any anſwer, either by word or by writing, ſaving that Maſter *Horne* falling to his old generall anſwer, ſayd, hee would make anſwer when hee were ordinarily called or queſtioned with; for by this ſhift hee thinketh hee undoeth all doubts at once, whereas indeed, to anſwer after that ſort, is to anſwer nothing at all, but to pretend falſe

cauſes to hold his tongue vvhen hee is able to ſhew no reaſon for himſelfe. For this was his meaning that he is not ordinarily called nor queſtioned withall, nor accuſed ordinarily, ſaving onely before himſelfe, and the Seniors as Judges, whereas they both in their giving over of their miniſtery, and in the principall cauſe againſt Maſter *Aſhley* were the adverſary part, ſo that by his judgement there is no ordinary vvay to medle againſt the Paſtors and Seniors, except they call themſelves to be hearers of their owne cauſe, and their owne Judges themſelves. For other ordinary wayes againſt the Paſtor and Seniors in that old diſcipline of theirs, neither he nor any other ſhall be able to ſhew.

After this, vvhen thoſe eight perſons which were appointed by the Church to heare the variance betweene Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* on the one ſide, and Maſter *Aſhley* on the other ſide, ſhould proceede in the hearing of that matter, Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* vvhich had abſented themſelves now a 11. dayes from the Church, were commanded by the Magiſtrate the 12. of February (for that day, they and certaine others were ſeene with the Magiſtrate) that they ſhould in no wiſe come at our Church, when wee heard of it, vvee had marvell; firſt that the matter vvas come to the Magiſtrates eare (for Maſter *Horne* and the reſt teſtified the 2. of February by their owne hand writing that they would never open it to the Magiſtrate) and ſecondarily, ſeeing Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* could by no meanes bee intreated to come to the Church, it ſeemed a wonder that it was commanded by the Magiſtrates that they ſhould not come, as though they had beene deſirous to come, which indeed needed not.

Therefore, the moſt part thought that that commandemens was obtained by their owne ſuite, at the Magiſtrates hands, both that ſuch perſons as knew not the matter, ſhould be perſwaded that it was long of the Magiſtrates commandements that they did not their offices in the Church. Whereas before this commandement was given, they had of a purpoſed forwardneſſe abſented themſelves now already more then ten dayes from the Congregation. And alſo beſides, that the Congregation might not proceed againſt them, ſeeing the Magiſtrate

ſtrate commanded them that they ſhould not appeare. And this was the very lett indeed, why the Congregation proceeded not in hearing and determining of the variance betweene Maſter *Horne* and *Chambers* of the one partie, and *Aſhley* on the other.

And in this they burthened us maliciouſly without cauſe, as though we would have *Aſhley* rid from judgement of that matter, and as though that were the onely thing which was ſought in our contention, whereas indeed it was long of them that his cauſe was not determined. We therefore, having knowledge of this matter, for feare leaſt wee ſhould bee falſely accuſed, as though we had uttered it to the Magiſtrate, and he ſeemed, firſt to have accuſed our brethren unto the Magiſtrate, which wee might not abide to doe, aſſembled together in the Church the 13. of February, and there was openly recited in writing this that followeth. For as much as our contention is already bruted abroad not onely through this Citie but alſo come to the Magiſtrates eare (for we heare ſay that Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* were commanded by the Magiſtrate yeſterday, that is, the 12. of February, that they ſhould in no wiſe come at the Congregation till the Magiſtrate had fuller knowledge of the matter) we profeſſe that neither Maſter *Horne*, nor Maſter *Chambers*, nor no man elſe was complained upon to the Magiſtrate by us or any of us, or by our meanes, but that wee ſought rather by all diligent endeavour, that the matter ſhould not come abroad, but that all matters might have beene ſecretly agreed among our ſelves, and that wee would all men ſhould underſtand by this our writing. This done, thoſe that knew themſelves to be of an upright conſcience in this behalfe, were required to ſet their hands to that writing, and ſo there were 37. hands ſubſcribed, as appeareth in the Acts of the 13. of February. And where Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* being ſo often deſired by all inſtant meanes of the Congregation, that they would be content to have all matters pacified among us by brotherly communication, did never ſuffer themſelves to be talked withall of any matter, leaſt they ſhould afterward alledge to ſuch as knew not the matter, that they did it of force becauſe of the Magiſtrates commandement, which forbad

bad them to come to the Congregation. All the time wherein they abſented themſelves, and contemned ſo many deſires and intreaties of the Church to have met upon agreement making, before any commandement was giuen them of the Magiſtrate (which commandement notwithſtanding may ſeeme that they at length for the cauſes before mentioned procured themſelves) was recorded among the Acts of that 13. of February, and confirmed by the teſtimonies of 37. names ſubſcribed, as in the Act appeareth more at large.

The 14. of February thoſe eight which were appointed the 3. of February by the Congregation to amend the diſcipline, preſented the booke of the Diſcipline to the Congregation againe, and the Congregation allowed it. And thoſe matters that were altered or augmented in the diſcipline, were ſuch as ſpecially pertained to thoſe cauſes, wherein the Paſtor and the Seniors were the one part, and how it muſt be proceeded againſt the Paſtor and Seniors, in caſe any of them were accuſed. For concerning theſe things there was never a word in the old diſcipline. And where in the old diſcipline, there was no certaine mention, how the Church ſhould bee governed, and ſeeing Maſter *Horne* and other had now utterly forſaken the Congregation, who in leaving their offices had drawne away with them the moſt part of them that were appointed Preachers and diſpoſing of the Church-mony, were more largely and more truly ſet forth and expreſſed.

For where Maſter *Chambers* had authoritie to gather all godly mens almes for the poore of the Congregation confirmed unto him (as he himſelfe required) in writing, ſigned by the Paſtor and Seniors, and certaine other of the chiefe men of the Church with their owne hands, and had exerciſed the ſame gathering now a yeare and halfe, and that he alone ſhould receive all, and he alone diſtribute, and be accomptable to no man, and he alone to be privie to the mony, that matter (were he never ſo faithfull a man) ſeemed very ſuſpitious to him and hurtfull to the Church, if he ſhould die ſuddenly, as the ſtate of man is caſuall: And the example alſo ſhould ſeeme pernitious to the Church, leaſt perhaps another man of ſmall fidelitie ſhould by the ſame reaſon draw all the Church-mony into his owne only hands.

And

And for as much as the Deacons (unto whom the charge of the Church mony ſeemeth to appertaine by the Word of God, and by the example of all rightly inſtituted Churches) in our Congregation had not a mite to beſtow: for there were made Deacons honeſt men indeed, but yet ſuch as for their povertie ſeemed not fit men to whom the common mony ſhould be committed: and by that colour Maſter *Chambers* thought he might without controling receive all the common mony in his owne hands alone. The Congregation thought good to have a Deaconſhip appointed more uprightly, according to the rule deſcribed in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the example of other Godly inſtituted Churches, and to the intent the Church mony might be medled withall by the Deacons without all ſuſpition, it is provided in the amending of the diſcipline that ſuch men ſhould be choſen Deacons, as be not onely of a moſt approved good fidelitie, but alſo ſuch as were able handſomely to live of their own, without any need of the Churches Almes. And indeed this ſeemed to be now ſo much the more neceſſary, for that many complained: ſome that the almes which they received before privatly, of private friends was taken up by the way, ſithence Maſter *Chambers* began to gather, as indeed Maſter *Horne* then Paſtor threatned openly out of the Pulpit in his Sermon, ſaying, that he would ſtop all mens vents (as he termed it) and receipts. Againe, ſome complaine that they could have nought at Maſter *Chambers* hand, but after beſeeching and unreaſonable long delayes, ſome that they could have nothing without bitter upbraids, and ſome, that they could obtaine nothing of gift, but onely of loane, and otherſome that they could get nothing at all. So that now it ſeemed requiſite of neceſſitie to ſeeke ſome remedy for theſe miſchieves. All which complaints wee ſhall bee conſtrained of extreame neceſſitie to put into one ſeverall peece of worke touching the whole matter, and communicating it to good men. And concerning the Diſcipline, ſeeing there was no certaine expreſſe way in the old Diſcipline how the Congregation ſhould be governed, neither could any long quietneſſe indure ſo long as Maſter *Horne* had the government by that diſcipline. And ſeeing now Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers* have

utterly forſaken the Church, not only themſelves, but alſo have drawne away with them many other, and of them, the moſt part ſuch as were appointed preachers and readers of the Scriptures: ſo as they might plainely appeare to ſeeke nothing elſe but that the Congregation being deſtitute of preaching and reading (as though it could not ſtand without thoſe men) ſhould be utterly broken up: the Congregation was of neceſſitie enforced to deviſe and provide for ſome certaine way for the governing of the Church, whereby the Congregation might be ſet at a firme and a conſtant quietneſſe.

After this 14. of Febr. two Preachers of the French and Flemiſh Churches, and Maſter *Valeran Pullain* came to the Congregation with the Magiſtrates Edict. The meaning of the Edict was, that Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Chambers*, Maſter *Iſaac*, and the reſt of the Seniors ſhould be reſtored unto their former full authoritie, and that Mr. *Horne* ſhould doe the office of Paſtor, and they of Seniors in our Church till the Magiſtrates might have the hearing and determining of the matter more at large. And it was commanded, that all ſuch men as had any thing to ſay againſt Mr. *Horne* and the reſt, ſhould exhibite the ſame to the Magiſtrate in writing. Maſter *Horne*, the decree being read conſulting firſt with ſome of his complices, as in a new matter that he never knew before, ſaid to this effect: that he was ready to obey the honorable Magiſtrate, as concerning other functions belonging to the Paſtor, that is to ſay, conſultations with the Seniors, and adminiſtration of diſcipline, but hee would not meddle with preaching, becauſe his miniſtery was infamed by ſome men, he could not doe it without the offence of himſelfe and of many. Anſwer was made in the Churches name, for that the honorable Magiſtrate had ſent the Seniors againe to the Church, the Church was glad of it. For they were all ſorry for their departure, and now were very joyous of their comming againe. Concerning Maſter *Horne*, for ſo much as he refuſed the chiefeſt part of the Paſtors office, wherein hee hath behaved himhelſe well, (if in any thing well) that is, in the office of preaching. Againe, where he would take upon him that part wherein he is juſtly reprehended, as wanting diſcretion, and ſoberneſſe therein, that is, the adminiſtration of Ec-

cleſiaſticall diſcipline with the Seniors, he overſhooteth himſelfe in both theſe points.

Therefore in as much as hee exempteth himſelfe from that office wherein he might profit the Congregation, the Congregation in like caſe will not admit him to that office wherein hee both ill behaved himſelfe before, as the Congregation (if need ſhall be) ſhall declare unto the Magiſtrates: wherein likewiſe the Congregation cannot admit Maſter *Chambers* to the office of Senior, for certaine cauſes. And for the reſt of the Seniors, Wee (ſay they) give unto the Magiſtrates right humble thankes.

This done, thoſe three men which came unto them with the Magiſtrates Edict, did earneſtly exhort, firſt in the Magiſtrates name, and eftſones in their owne, to fall to a quiet agreement among themſelves, for that were more honeſtie then to accuſe oneanother unto the congregation: which thing, as it is moſt unworthy of Chriſtian men, ſo it is unto us ſpecially that profeſſe our ſelves baniſhed for the Goſpels ſake. Anſwer was made in the name of the Church as followeth. We wiſh for a brotherly peace from the bottome of our hearts, praying Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* inſtantly to bend their mindes unto quietneſſe, and moſt heartily beſeeching theſe three men our brethren, and baniſhed for the ſame Goſpel that we are, that they will helpe with their authoritie to ſet a quietneſſe among us, ſo as the matter ſhould come no more to the Magiſtrates eare. Theſe three anſwered that they would heare what anſwer Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* would make; hereto Maſter *Horne* anſwered, ſeeing the matter is already before the Magiſtrate, the Magiſtrate ſhall have the hearing and determing of it. If any had ought againſt him, let them put it up in writing before the Magiſtrate, for he was ready to anſwer all men, and either he would try his innocencie or (being found faultie) ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame; Maſter *Chambers* made like anſwer for himſelfe.

Then, for as much as there could be no other end, the Congregation requeſted thoſe three grave and learned preachers to make report to the Magiſtrate of their deſire, and readineſſe to to have agreement. And ſo they (as ſoone as theſe things

were put in writing) departed. And the Church alſo made an Act of that day, ſubſcribing with their hands to the ſame. The ſame day at afternoone the Magiſtrates having more plaine intelligence of the matter, commanded by their Edict, ſubſcribed with their hands, that Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers* ſhould meddle no more, the one with the Paſtorſhip, and the other with the Seniorſhip, till all the controverſies were throughly heard and decided. And commandement was given, that the eighth day after (which was the third of March) ſuch as had to ſay of any part ſhould be preſent. This matter was grievous to the Church (as may be thought) that things ſhould grow to ſuch extremitie.

When they had gathered certaine matter, they exhibited it to the Magiſtrates when as they came to the Engliſh Church where all the company were aſſembled before them, which was the laſt of February. Where the Magiſtrates made an end (by their owne authoritie) of the controverſie, as ſhall bee ſaid hereafter.

The laſt of Febr. the Magiſtrate came to our Temple a little before ten of the clocke, and there of his authoritie reconciled certaine of the Congregation that were at variance among themſelves, and tooke order that all former offences ſhould be utterly extinct and buried in the grave of forgetfulneſſe. Whereupon at the commandement, and in the preſence of this Magiſtrate, the parties joyned hands together in token that they were reconciled, and were good friends and lovers. Afterward, the Paſtor, Elders, and Deacons, were put from their Eccleſiaſticall functions by an Edict ſigned and ſubſcribed with three of the Magiſtrates hands: and were all made private men, as the reſt of the Congregation: And by the ſame Edict of the Magiſtrates it was decreed that that Congregation might freely, (when they would) chuſe either them, or other Miniſters. Likewiſe, it was permitted and granted, that according to theabilitie of the Congregation they might chuſe one, or many Miſters of the Word, or Doctors. Moreover, order was taken by the ſame Edict, that the treaſure or common mony of the Congregation ſhould be kept and diſtributed by the Deacons. And that Deacons ſhould at certaine appointed times give up an

account

account of it before the Miniſters of the Word, and Seniors.

We were licenced by the ſame Edict of the Magiſtrates, to draw out an Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, whereby the Congregation ſhould be governed. Afterward, there was thankes given to the Magiſtrate in the name of the whole Congregation for his good will and affection to the Congregation. And the Magiſtrate departed, wiſhing well in like ſort to the company. But by whoſe meanes the Magiſtrate came thus unto us, and tooke ſuch order, or whether the Magiſtrate of himſelfe wrought this deviſe wee cannot certainly ſay. But that wee of the Church were not the cauſe that any ſuch thing was done, we take God and our conſcience, and the Magiſtrate to witneſſe, who knoweth the whole matter.

The morrow after, which was the firſt of March, the Magiſtrate gave us counſell by a few lines that he wrote unto us, to draw forth the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline out of hand, whiles we were as yet all private men, and therefore might beſt take counſell for that that ſhould bee moſt behooveable for the whole company: leſt, that if we deſired the doing of it untill the Miniſters were choſen and appointed, our conſultation ſhould be more troubleſome, whiles the Miniſters on the one ſide, and Congregation on the other, might plucke and force more unto themſelves, then of right they ought. This moſt wholeſome and profitable counſell of the Magiſtrate was the next day after, which was the ſecond of March propoſed in the Congregation, and it liked and pleaſed the whole company, notwithſtanding, becauſe Mr. *Horne* made ſome matter, for that ſome were abſent, the matter was deferred unto the next day.

The third of March, by the adviſe of that good and godly Magiſtrate, eight and thirtie of the Congregation choſe by voyces 15. men to write Eccleſiaſticall Lawes. Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers*, and almoſt to the number of 14. more ſate by and would give no voices, notwithſtanding that wee requeſted and intreated them: But they required they might have leave to put downe their mindes in writing. So then being requeſted to write downe their mindes, Maſter *Horne* roſe up and wrote in the paper in theſe words following. My

minde is that the old diſcipline be kept ſtill and not mended. Maſter *Chambers* and Maſter *Iſaac* and others, to the number of 14. wrote downe their mindes to the ſelfe ſame purpoſe. Now when we ſaw farre beyond our expectation, and otherwiſe then we looked for, that there was a new diſſention ariſing betweene us, being ſet at one, and reconciled one to the other, not ſcarce three dayes before, and in witneſſe thereof had given hands each to other we could not otherwiſe do but be grieved and ſorrow greatly, to ſee the ground worke of more troubles and diſſentions laid.

And becauſe thoſe 14. gave to underſtand by their hands put downe unto it in writing, that they thought it not good to alter their old diſcipline, to the end that it might evidently appeare, how many we were that had conſented upon the choiſe of 15. men, which ſhould ſet downe in writing a forme of diſcipline according as the Magiſtrate had commanded; wee on the other ſide truſted, that wee thought it for the behoofe and profit of the Congregation, that a forme of diſcipline ſhould be made and put downe as the Magiſtrate had commanded. And to this determination and ſentence being put in writing, we in number eight and thirtie ſubſcribed our names, with proteſtation, that we did nothing but that was good and lawfull, and according to the Magiſtrates will and minde, requeſting them to give their conſent and to agree with us.

*The ſimple ſubtiltie of his factious head.*

But they, after much debating, and many words too and fro for their old diſcipline, that it needed not to be diſplaced or altered, came to this paſſe at the length, that they ſaid, we had to conſult of correcting, but not of making a diſcipline, and very inſtantly and earneſtly urged the ſame upon the words of that advice and counſell which the Magiſtrate had given touching the ſpeedy diſpatch of the diſcipline of the Church before the election of the Miniſters. We therefore which thought it not much materiall whether it were termed a new made, or a corrected diſcipline, to have no occaſion of diſſention, changed our copie, and put in ſtead of theſe words Diſcipline ſhould be made, ſhould be corrected. And ſo thoſe 14. which made a ſhew before as though they would not ſuffer any one jot of the old diſcipline to be altered and changed, calling to mind

(I ſup-

(I ſuppoſe) either their fewneſſe of their number, or the oddes of the matter, becauſe that old diſcipline was utterly taken away by the Magiſtrates Edict, the laſt of Febr. as the chiefeſt of cauſe our controverſies: or elſe foreſeeing, that the Magiſtrate would be offended with that their diſſention; they all joyntly together, Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers* beginning the daunce, put their hands to ours, for the correction of the diſcipline.

Then did Maſter *Horne* requeſt that ſeeing now they had conſented unto us for the writing down of the diſcipline, heand the reſidue for that foureteene might freely give their voices for the chooſing of thoſe foureteene which they had already appointed, or ſome ſuch other as they would. But wee becauſe we had before requeſted them to give their voices, and three refuſed, conſidering that thoſe foureteene drew all one line, and were fully bent in all points to doe one as the other, being all like affected, and by that meanes, might of purpoſe wholly beſtow their voyces upon ſome certaine, and ſo overthrow our election which they knew already, denyed to grant and ſuffer them; and yet we ſaid, that if they would, we would not refuſe to appoint another day, to chuſe the ſaid 14. men or other; yet giving Maſter *Horne* in the meane while to wit, that that matter which might have beene quietly diſpatched in three houres, would ſcarcely by his meanes be finiſhed in three dayes.

*Horne & his company ſubſcribes to the other part.*

At the length Maſter *Horne*, after conſultation had with certaine, ſpake aloud in the name of the foureteene in this wiſe.

Although (ſaid he) it were meete that wee all ſeverally give our voices, yet that we may bee no longer an hinderance, I pronounce in all their names, that wee all doe by our voyces chuſe thoſe foureteene men whom you have already appointed. When the reſidue were asked whether they conſented to this or no; Maſter *Iſaac* anſwered, that all agreed: otherwiſe, if any were contrary minded he would ſpeake. And thus by a generall conſent of all, not one man except fifteene men were choſen to write Eccleſiaſticall lawes the third of March.

*Maſter Horne came not till two.*

The 15. Elected, agreed betweene themſelves to aſſemble and come together the fourth of March at one of the clocke at afternoone.

afternoone. When they came together there was much adoe a great while whether the old diſcipline ſhould be corrected, or a new made. We (of the Church) alleadged, that all occaſions of old controverſies (whereof the old diſcipline, but unperfect and nought, was one) were utterly taken away by the Magiſtrates Edict. Some urged this word, corrected, or amended, which was in the adviſe and counſell that the Magiſtrate gave us for the ſpeedie diſpatch of diſcipline. For, ſay they, this is not corrected which is cleane taken away. At length, the booke of the old diſcipline, and another of the new diſcipline, which was corrected in the abſence of maſter *Horne* and others, were read, and ſo they departed for that day, appointing to meete againe the eighth of March, the ſame houre.

*The booke of diſcipline brought forth and read.*

*Maſter* Horne *came at three.*

The eighth of March theſe 15. men aſſembled againe and there agreed upon articles for making of diſcipline, which were ſet down in a paper, and ſubſcribed all unto them, ſaying, that Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Chambers*, and Maſter *Iſaac*, and Maſter *Bentham* would not ſubſcribe to that Article concerning the having of two Miniſters of the Word, and yet notwithſtanding they all agreed upon this, that it was a matter indifferent, whether there ſhould bee one, or many Miniſters of the Word; for it is not defined in the Scriptures, but left free. Afterward Maſter *Hales* gave to Maſter *Chambers* a booke of diſcipline (which was written in the abſence of Maſter *Horne* and others, and was of the ſame Articles as the Congregation had made and agreed upon) that Maſter *Horne*, and hee, and Maſter *Iſaac* might reade it over, and if they allowed ought therein, that it might be annexed to the diſcipline that was in hand. But afterward, when Maſter *Horne* through occaſion of talke about the correcting of the diſcipline, ſaid that there had beene no other diſcipline in the Church, but that old diſcipline, and that therefore the Magiſtrate ſpake of correcting of that, not of the utter aboliſhing thereof, and that it was anſwered, that the ſame other booke of diſcipline being written when hee was abſent, might as well be underſtood to be meant, as that ſame old diſcipline: both for that there was more equitie in it and alſo was ſubſcribed unto of ſo many as well as that old diſcipline

ſcipline which he ſo extolled: Then Maſter *Horn* brake out into moſt ſpitefull words againſt all his countrey men that had agreed to that diſcipline, which were at the leaſt 36. perſons, affirming that all they that had thus conſpired together for the eſtabliſhing of thoſe articles (according to the ſhortneſſe of the time wherein they met) that they were in a certaine degree, guiltie of treaſon againſt the Magiſtrate, againſt the Senate, and (to be ſhort) againſt the whole Citie.

Then Maſter *Hales* (underſtanding by Maſter *Hornes* words that nothing was ſought but new trouble, and being put in minde alſo of Maſter *Bentham*) rehearſeth againe that booke of diſcipline which a little before was offered to Maſter *Chambers*, affirming that he underſtood, they went about to ſeeke rather an occaſion of challenging at the book by reading of it, then a way of making a new diſcipline.

The eleventh of March the fifteene men met againe upon certaine Articles, to which (except one which Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* would not ſubſcribe) they all ſubſcribed.

A little before our departure it was thought profitable that thoſe things which we had collected and agreed upon ſhould be brought into a certaine forme of a Booke, adding either out of the old diſcipline, or by occaſion, as wee were gathering theſe things together ſuch things as might ſeeme profitable. Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* being intreated, that they would gather thoſe things in ſuch ſort, or elſe be preſent to conferre with other that reade: Maſter *Horne* anſwereth that he would not, neither that there was any ſuch need. The 16. day of March they met againe in the Church, and there a certaine Bill (in which were written certaine articles tending to diſcipline) is exhibited unto them, that among the fifteen it might be deliberated upon and debated. Mr. *Iſaac* ſpake many things very ſharpely againſt one Article as very dangerous & perillous againſt thoſe good men, through whoſe liberalitie the poore of the Church were ſuſtained, and making wiſe, as though hee would know that matter better, he requeſted the Bill, which being reached unto him, he putteth it up in his boſome, neither would he give it againe; and ſo by this meanes he took away the

matter for us to worke upon ſith that we had no other copie.

Afterward, the booke in which thoſe things were written that were agreed upon among the 15. and certaine things out of the old diſcipline, and other alſo were gathered into ſome order, was brought out among them to be conſulted upon, and being read, Maſter *Horn*, and Maſter *Chambers* firſt of all complained, that booke was gathered they not witting thereof, and had beene long beaten upon among certaine of them, and therefore that it was reaſon that a copie ſhould bee given to them, and to Maſter *Iſaac*, and a farther time alſo to deliberate; Maſter *Iſaac* affirmed that he needed two moneths, or one at the leaſt to conſider of that booke. It was anſwered that although Maſter *Horne* and *Chambers* complained that they were not admitted to the collecting of the booke; in that they did us wrong, for being of us thereunto required they refuſed it and left it to others. In that they required a copie, it ſeemed unjuſt, (ſeeing that the Church had decreed that we the 15. ſhould debate together as concerning the writing of the diſcipline) for that thing tended againe to a new diſſention. Againe, that they required ſo long a time to deliberate, and eſpecially Maſter *Iſaac*, it was moſt unjuſt. For ſeeing the Mart was now at hand, it was profitable, or rather neceſſary, that our Church ſhould with ſpeed be eſtabliſhed, and our Miniſters elected, leaſt to our great infamy, men comming hither out of all Europe, they might alſo ſee the broyles of our Church, and ſo ſpread them farre abroad among all nations: moreover, that it would fall out to the great hurt of the poore, if godly men being offended with our diſſentions (being before beneficiall to the poore) withdraw now their liberalitie, and that therefore there was need of ſpeedy helpe in pacifying and quieting the Church before the Mart, being now at hand. Maſter *Horne* anſwereth, that hee requireth not too much time, two or three dayes ſhould be enough for him to deliberate, notwithſtanding that the copie ought to be granted for no leſſe time, ſeeing many things were conteined in that booke, and ſome alſo darke and doubtfull things, and to him before that time unheard of, or at leaſt unknowne; and that therefore he requeſted that all ſhould be asked, man by man, whether they thought not this reaſonable

reaſonable and juſt that he required. For if to the moſt it ſhould ſeeme reaſonable hee would at any hand have a copie of that booke; every man therefore was asked, beginning at Maſter *Bentham*: he as well for the cauſes before alleadged, as alſo that no occaſion of wrangling might ariſe of the booke, and leaſt the booke ſhould come to the hands of any other before it were brought to the Congregation, and for certaine other cauſes, thought it not meet that any copie ſhould be given to any, but that the booke ſhould be brought forth among them, and all they hearing it that were appointed of the Congregation, it ſhould be after read, and that time enough ſhould be given to ſtand upon every decree and ſentence, and more exactly to examine them; and that this ſeemed to him very juſt and reaſonable. And this judgement is condeſcended to of all the reſt, and ſo Maſter *Horne* leaveth off from requeſting the copie. Afterwards, the booke is begun to be read from the beginning, and in examining of every of the decrees long time is ſpent, and of ſome articles in the beginning, much diſputation and debating is had. But Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Chambers* and *Iſaac* being asked their judgements, would not anſwer, no not in the moſt plaineſt matters, and knowne of all men, either to allow or diſallow; as for example, there was one article; we profeſſe the ſelfe ſame doctrine which is conteined in the Canonicall books of all the holy Scriptures, to wit, in the bookes of the Old and New Teſtament, in which is conteined fully all doctrine neceſſary for our ſalvation. To this and ſuch other, being moſt plaine and manifeſt, Maſter *Horne* anſwered as to all the other, that he would anſwer nothing without great deliberation. By which his doings he gave occaſion to all men to wonder. And ſo ſome other decrees of that book being examined, a meeting of the 15. was appointed againſt the next day, and ſo they departed. The next day being the 17. of *March*, and againe the day following being the 18. twelve of the 15. met, for Maſter *Iſaac*, Maſter *Horne*, and *Chambers* came not. Upon both dayes the diſcipline was more diligently read and examined, and of eleven of them which were appointed, allowed and ſubſcribed unto. Upon the 20. day of *March* the diſcipline was offered to the whole Congregation, that it might of them either in the whole, or in

*If Maſter* Horn *tooke ſuch deliberation before he would ſubſcribe to that article, what meaneth this that poore ignorant men and women muſt thus ſubſcrib upon the ſudden, or elſe to New-gate.*

part be allowed or diſallowed, and the ſame day was it twice read over.

After the reading Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* require a copie of the diſcipline, that at their leaſure they might farther deliberate upon it. It was anſwered that it was to bee openly read & read againe, both to them and others, as often as they would, with time enough given to every man more diligently to examine every Article, but ſeeing the Magiſtrate had commanded that we ſhould exhibit to them a copie of the diſcipline turned into latine, ſo ſoone as poſſible might be. Therefore we durſt not ſcatter any copie before the Magiſtrate had ſeene it. Beſides that we feared leaſt Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* (who were among the 15. (appointed) of the Church for the writing of the diſcipline, who might alſo when they would not onely heare the diſcipline, but alſo examine the ſame diligently, and yet would not meete with the others at the appointed time) would requeſt a copie not ſo much to know the diſcipline, as to ſtirre up new broiles. Nevertheleſſe when the Magiſtrate had once ſeene it, leave to be given to any man that would, to ſee it. With this anſwer they, and ſome others being offended, at the ſecond reading of the diſcipline they departed away and abſtained againe with their whole houſholds from the Church, from publike Prayers and Sermons, which thing blew up and increaſed the report of our diſagreements and ſtrifes. Neither would they from that time forward, unleſſe they were commanded by the Magiſtrate come to the Church, when as notwithſtanding they could not ſhew us any juſt cauſe to be given them why they ſhould ſo depart from the Church, and refraine the publike Prayers and godly Sermons, as if we had been Ethnickes or publicans.

The 25. day our diſcipline was read the third time, and the 26. day it was read the fourth time by the commandement of the Magiſtrate, at the reading whereof all Engliſh men that were of the Church were commanded to be preſent. The 30. of March it was read the fift time, and ſo at divers times there ſubſcribed 42. in the good allowance thereof, which was the greater part by a great deale of the Church. For the whole Church at that preſent had not above 62. And becauſe now the

Mart

Mart was at hand, that there might be ſome better forme of a well ordered Church: five were appointed of the Church the 20. of March to nominate certaine, from among whom, according to the Magiſtrates decree ſhould be choſen, the Miniſters of the Word, Seniors, and Deacons. The 21. of March the names of twenty men, or thereabout, were proponed to thoſe five appointed of the Church, and therewithall declared, that if any would or could reprove any of them that were named, either in doctrine or manners, they ſhould ſhew it the 23. day after. Upon the 23. day, none finding any fault in any of thoſe whoſe names were popounded, it was again decreed, that yet, if they had any thing to ſay againſt any man, they ſhould declare that the 21. day following.

The 25. of March Mr. *Chambers*, M. *Binks*, M. *Ado*, M. *Bricbeck*, M. *Bentham*, who were among them that were named, told the Church, that if peradventure they ſhould be choſen, for certaine cauſes they could not ſerve the Church, and that they ſignified this to the Church in time, leſt the election were fruſtrate. But when no man could object any fault in theſe, or other that were named: the election of the Miniſters was made the 29. of March, and the ordaining of them that were choſen, was appointed of the Church the day following. In the meane ſeaſon M. *Horn*, and M. *Chambers*, and certain other left not off to ſue to the Magiſtrates, that both our election might be hindered, & alſo that it might be lawfull for them to be of our Church, and yet not to ſubſcribe to our Diſcipline, the thing that they themſelves notwithſtanding would never grant to any others.

The 27. of March after dinner it began to be muttered of certaine, that the Magiſtrate had forbidden that we ſhould goe forward in the election, the which thing ſurely grieved us: for by that meanes wee ſaw that wee ſhould have no forme of a Church before the Mart, and that therefore we ſhould become a reproach to all men, which ſeemed ſhould be ſpread among all nations. But this rumour was altogether vaine, for the 28. of March which was the day before the election ſhould be, after the Sermon, the decree of the Magiſtrate was openly read in the Church, wherein it was commanded that wee ſhould take in hand and performe the election of the Miniſters in the ſame

order, and upon the ſame day that we had appointed, and that all Engliſhmen that were of our Church ſhould be preſent the ſame day, at the election, and give their voices.

The 29. day of March after Prayers, the Sermon, and Publike Faſt, a little before twelve, the election of the Miniſters began to be made, and when we were in the midſt of the election, Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Chambers*, and others, to the number of 18. men, (who before were neither with us at the Sermon, nor at Prayers, but had kept themſelves in ſome houſes not farre from the Church, being warned of their ſide that had watched us in the Church) came in ſuddainly on a troope together into the Church, and there each one ſtriveth who ſhall caſt in his Bill firſt upon the table, ſtanding in the middeſt of the Church, all which Bills conteined one matter, and written almoſt with like words, to wit, that they could not give their voyces in the ſame election, becauſe they could not of their conſciences allow that diſcipline by which the election was made. And that they might inlarge their number, they brought with them two bills of thoſe that were abſent, and of ſome others which never were accounted of the Church. And ſo after they had troubled our election; and after Maſter *Horne* alſo, walking with another a little while overthwart in the middeſt of the Church, all in a manner departed againe.

Afterwards the election was fully ended at one of the clocke at afternoone, there were choſen two Miniſters of the Word, ſix Seniors, and foure Deacons. Now the Deacons were (beſides the wonted cuſtome of our Church) of the number of thoſe that could live of their own, for that the common treaſure might ſeeme without all ſuſpition to be committed to ſuch, rather then to the poorer ſort. Now, in that Maſter *Horne*, neither any of the other that were before in the Miniſtery (except onely Maſter *Wilford*) were choſen againe to the Miniſtery, was ſpecially through their owne fault. For Maſter *Horne* never almoſt ceaſed for certaine dayes to profeſſe openly that he would never exerciſe againe any Eccleſiaſticall miniſtery in that Church, and being before appointed by the Magiſtrate to preach in our Church, he would never ſo much as once preach. And Maſter *Chambers*, when his name among the reſt to bee

choſen

choſen was propounded; the 25. of March he profeſſed openly in the Church, (all men hearing it) before the election, that though hee were choſen of us to ſome Miniſtery, yet that hee would never uſe it: And therefore that wee ſhould not in any caſe chuſe him unleſſe we would have our election to bee fruſtrate.

Wherefore it is no marvaile, if they were not choſen, who, leaſt they ſhould be choſen, did themſelves openly denounce it. And therefore in this they doe us great wrong, that would ſeeme to beare men in hand, that they were at the firſt thruſt out of their Miniſtery by us, or long of us they were not choſen in againe.

Maſter *Iſaac*, in like manner, Maſter *Binks*, Maſter *Brickbek* and Maſter *Eſcote* openly profeſſed that they would in no wiſe uſe any publike Miniſtery in our Church. And hereupon it came ſpecially to paſſe that onely Maſter *Wilford* (who had not made any ſuch exception) was from among them, which were before in the miniſtery choſen againe.

The third of Aprill the Magiſtrate, who deſired that theſe Church diſſentions of ours might be pacified and quieted, and he now becauſe of the Mart had no leaſure to doe the ſame, writeth his letters to Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, and Maſter *Bartue* in which he exhorteth them, that they if they could by any convenient meanes, as arbitrers of ſome eſtimation end this ſtrife among us.

Now when either ſide was come before them, and all we in the name of the Church (for all had granted our controverſies to be heard and determined without any exception at all to them and to other Arbitrers whatſoever, whom they ſhould call unto them) and had offered this thing to the Arbitrers written, and all our names ſubſcribed unto it: Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Chambers*, and others firſt requeſted that Maſter *Horne* might be reſtored to his office of Paſtorſhip; Maſter *Iſaac*, Maſter *Chambers*, and others into their offices of Seniors, and the old diſcipline into his former place and authoritie, ſo as they were in the beginning of theſe controverſies; for then (ſaid they) will we leave all controverſies to the Arbitrers. When we had refuſed this as moſt unjuſt and unreaſonable, then they requeſted

ſted that ſeeing wee would not reſtore the old diſcipline, and them to their former authoritie, that then we would ſuffer our diſcipline and Miniſters to be none otherwiſe then their old, without all authoritie, and no Miniſter at all, nor diſcipline to be in our Church, but that the Matter ſhould remaine in that ſtate and condition that it was in the laſt of February, when the Magiſtrate having put all the Miniſters from their offices, departed from us, and ſo ſhould the matter be left to Arbitrers.

When we remembred what, and how great travells that diſcipline, election of Miniſters had coſt us, and ſaw that by this meanes our Church ſhould be made deſtitute of Miniſters and a large window to be opened for new contentions, and had alſo denyed that thing, Maſter *Horne* requeſted that it might bee lawfull for him to goe a little aſide, and to conſult with ſome of his ſide about the whole matter. A little after returning againe and ſaying, that they would leave no way unſought after, whereby peace might be gotten, although they yeelded much from their right. Then he readeth a certaine bill to thoſe three (appointed of the Magiſtrate) and to us written in his owne name, and the names of others which I have added under here, written word for word, leaſt any man ſhould thinke that any thing of purpoſe were altred by us.

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*The Bill of Maſter* Horne *and others.*

VVE offer and permit with moſt willing minds (having the licence of the Magiſtrate as it may well be for this purpoſe) that all our controverſies and contentions whatſoever, which have been ſowne and brought in among us, ſithence the beginning of this breach, and ſince the firſt day we began to ſtrive, untill this preſent time and houre, to be debated, decided and determined by Arbitrers, being none of this our Congregation, & yet from among the brethren, our countrey men, equally and indifferently, by the parties diſagreeing, to be choſen upon this condition, that not only the election of Miniſters, and beſides all others things done by the order of the ſaid diſcipline, ſtand in ſuſpence, to be allowed or diſallowed by the determination

nation and judgement of the Arbitrers to be choſen, as is aforeſaid, written the fifth of April. Anno 1557.

And that the indifferent Reader may, by comparing their offer and ours, ſee which is moſt reaſonable, we have added ours alſo, written out word for word as we offered it up before the foreſaid Maſter *Bertue*, Doctor *Cox*, and Doctor *Sands*, and to the diſſenting brethren.

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*The Copie whereof is this.*

WEE ſubmit our ſelves, and are contented to commit all manner of controverſies that have heretofore riſen amongſt us in the Church, to ſuch Arbitrers as the Magiſtrate hath appointed, and to all ſuch as they call unto them to to the hearing and determining thereof, according to Gods Word, and good reaſon. And thus ſimply and plainly, without any manner of exception or condition. In witneſſe whereof we have ſubſcribed our names the fifth of Aprill, Anno 1557.

Thou maiſt ſee here, (gentle Reader) that albeit we had our Diſcipline written and allowed of a eleven of the fifteen men whom the Congregation by the Magiſtrates authority had appointed, to wit, the Diſcipline, and thereupon confirmed with the hands of 42. men, which was the greateſt part of our Church by a great deale: Albeit we had alſo all Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, by the Magiſtrates decree, and the authority of the Congregation lawfully elected; yet for quietneſſe ſake, wee put all to the Arbitrers wholly, either to be allowed or diſallowed, without any manner of exception. But Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers*, and others, ſeeking more their own will then any quiet agreement, would not at the firſt admit thoſe three Arbitrers appointed of the Magiſtrates. For Maſter *Horne* made exception againſt ſome of them. And afterwards would abide no order or offer, unleſſe we would with our ſubſcriptions ſuffer and commit our Diſcipline, the election of Miniſters, and all other matters of our Church to ſtand in ſuſpence (as they call it) ſo that by their drift wee ſhould have had no Diſcipline, no certaine Miniſtery, no order, and ſo conſequently, no Church. They would that theſe Arbi-

*Theſe 3. Arbitrers had their being out from the Engliſh Churches.*

trers ſhould be choſen indifferently from among ſuch as were our countrey men, but not of our Congregation, ſo that it ſhould be lawfull for them to chuſe where they liſt and whom they liſt. Now conſider with me, whoſoever thou art (indifferent reader) if we, firſt having given and ſealed our writing in the name of the whole Church had granted our diſcipline, Miniſters, and all other orders of our Church to ſtand in ſuſpence, untill they ſhould either be allowed or diſallowed of the Arbitrers choſen in ſuch ſort, and till Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* according to their canvaſing craftineſſe, now enough and more then enough knowne unto us, had choſen Arbitrers for their part out of farre places, who either could not, or elſe would not meet together about this matter, or (which was moſt certaine to come to paſſe) if Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers*, whereſoever at length they had choſen Arbitrers, had not for all that choſen ſuch for their ſide, who unleſſe things were done according to their owne minde, would decree nothing at all. But the Arbitrers diſagreeing on both ſides, the matter ſhould be left undone: what then ſhould have become of our Church, with theſe their ſuſpenſive Miniſters, and with the diſcipline and all other things? For the condition offered up of Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* was declared to be this, that ſo long all ſhould remaine in ſuſpence till they ſhould be allowed or diſallowed by the Arbitrers: ſo that if the arbitrers ſhould have beene divided equally (as many times it commeth to paſſe) the Miniſters of the Church might determine nothing, but the diſcipline and all other things muſt continually hang in ſuſpence. Againe, the Church (though it were in great perill and danger, yet leſt it ſhould leave any way unproved for the obtayning of peace) becauſe they thought that ſome of thoſe three were not meet whom the Magiſtrates had appointed for Arbitrers, offered up another Bill conteining altogether the ſelfe ſame matter, and writ with the ſame words, that they would ſtand to the Judgement of any other Arbitrers whoſoever being choſen indifferently by the other partie from among our country men, and leave all things to them plainely and ſimply without any exception or condition to bee determined and decided. But they would allow no condition offe-

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red of us unleſſe wee would firſt, by the ſubſcribing of our names allow that moſt unjuſt and unreaſonable condition of theirs, and by our prejudice condemne our Miniſters, our diſcipline and all other things that we had done. And ſo by this meanes had opened a gap to them to overthrow our Church. And when they had thus behaved themſelves before Maſter *Bartue*, Doctor *Cox*, and Doctor *Sands*, yet certaine of them (when now the Mart was in the chiefe flower) reported throughout the whole Citie that we had rejected their moſt juſt and peaceable requeſts, and that wee were altogether troubleſome men, and plainely bent to ſuffer no peace nor quietneſſe; howbeit we had rather that they ſhould ſhew theſe things that are falſe of us to others, then that they together with others ſhould openly deride our folly (if we had yeelded to ſuch requeſts) as they that with our great toile and travell had (to the quiet of the Church) eſtabliſhed ſome Church, and now upon a ſuddaine by the ſubſcribing of one Bill thorough headineſſe and fooliſh facilitie ſhould have overthrowne the whole. But they, when they could not obtaine this, went about this very buſily, that the whole Church might then be diſſolved and broken up. For Maſter *Chambers* for halfe a moneths ſpace and more would give nothing to any man that remained in the Church, and followed not Maſter *Horne* and him departing from the Church.

To certaine other alſo he would give nothing at all which were in the publike Miniſtery, to preach the Word, and reade Lectures, and alſo in the exerciſe of diſputing by his owne appointment, and the order taken by Maſter *Horne* alwayes from the time ſithence they came to our Church, when now they were for their board in debt to their Hoſteſſes for 4. moneths; neither had done any other fault, unleſſe it were becauſe they remained in their functions of preaching and reading Lectures, in which they were placed by Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers*, leſt the Church ſhould altogether be deſtitute both of Sermons and Lectures: Onely becauſe in this diſſention they agreed not with them and tooke their parts, and had with them withdrawne themſelves from the Church, that it might be utterly ſcattered, when as notwithſtanding (which is moſt unho-

neſt) they had promiſed to give 3. moneths warning before they would forſake them: which, notwithſtanding Mr. *Chambers* affirmed they would never doe, unleſſe it were that they vvere conſtrained by extream neceſſity. About the midſt of the Mart, or a little after there began a rumour to be ſpread of the departure of Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers* from this City, but whither they would goe, or whither they would at all depart, it was yet uncertaine. For neither was it likely that Maſter *Chambers*, having gathered ſo much common money, and that by the authority, and in the name of the Church, ſeeing he had been here ſo long without making of any account to the Church, would goe away in ſuch ſort. Neither was it credible that Maſter *Horne*, who had governed in his Paſtorall office and charge ſo long (no reconciliation nor pacification being made for ſo great offences) would ſo depart, yea, not ſo much as have taken his leave of the Church. In the meane time it is incredible to be ſpoken, but more ſhamefull to be heard, what reports certaine had ſpred that Mart-time ſecretly, and eſpecially among the richer ſort that were able to help the poore of our Church, forſooth, that there were certain Traitors among us. That we deſired to know the names of thoſe perſons that were liberall towards the poore of our Church, to the end to betray them, and undoe them.: That we had caſt our Paſtor and Miniſters out headlong from their Miniſteries and offices. In all which things, they went about nothing elſe but to ſtir up new brawles and contentions. And that they may alienate the hearts of the wealthy ſort from us, and ſo bring the poore of our Church, firſt to famine, and then us into deadly hatred of them, as though they were by us throwen into theſe miſeries: But foraſmuch as all theſe things are vain and untrue, and fained by the ſecret ſleights of thoſe privy whiſperers, vvho dare ſpeak nothing openly: vve have thought them rather to be contemned, then to be anſwered: hoping that at laſt, when they are weary of lying, they will be quiet. But if they go forward ſtill to belie us ſo impudently and outragiouſly, ſurely we will not neglect our fame and honeſt eſtimation: but we will diligently vvipe away all their ſlanders with one ſponge, and therewithall will open to the world, their wicked endeavours againſt our Church.

Church. In the meane time nothing diſtruſting the Lords mercy (how ſoever the deceits of men would let it) hoping that neither living nor food ſhall ever want to our poore Congregation, who alſo feedeth the Ravens, and that he will alwayes be preſent by his ſpirit to us, and to our whole Church continually, which thing that it may pleaſe him to bring to paſſe, wee beſeech the good reader (whoſoever thou art) pray unto God together with us, and farewell.

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## Here followeth the exhortation of the Magiſtrate for the amending and eſtabliſhing of the Diſcipline.

*The Engliſh, Thus.*

VVE thinke it good and profitable for the eſtabliſhing of peace and tranquilitie of your Church, that you all together conſult and determine, as concerning the amending of diſcipline; now whiles yee all bee yet private men and without any Eccleſiaſticall miniſtery. For whiles none of you doth yet know, whether he ſhall be a private perſon, or elſe ſhall have any authoritie Eccleſiaſticall, every man will apply his minde, and ſtudie to that which ſhall ſeeme moſt reaſonable and profitable, as well for the Congregation as for the Miniſters. But after that the Miniſters be once elected, it is to be feared leſt they will draw ſome what more then reaſon to themſelves, and in likewiſe the Congregation to it ſelfe. And ſo, your conſultation may chance to be ſomewhat troublous, which wee would not ſhould happen. Wherefore that all things may proceed as well as may be to the eſtabliſhing of ſure peace, we exhort you that with all ſpeed yee take in hand this conſultation about the amending of your Diſcipline, with minde and meanes moſt appliable to tranquilitie, which Almightie God grant yee may happily bring to paſſe. The firſt of March, 1557.

*John Glauburg*

# Now followeth the Diſcipline, both the old, and that which was by the Magiſtrates appointment corrected.

## *The order of the old Diſcipline in the Citie of Franckeford.*

*The old Diſcipline.*

THere be two parts of the order of diſcipline in the Church, the one pertaining to the whole Church, the other pertaining to the Miniſters and Elders alone.

### *Of the firſt part.*

In the diſcipline pertaining to the whole Church, is firſt to be appointed the order of receiving men into the Congregation, which is this.

*The manner of receiving of all ſorts of perſons into the ſaid Congregation.*

Firſt, every one, as well man as woman which deſireth to be received ſhall make a declaration or confeſſion of their faith, before the Paſtor and Seniors, ſhewing himſelfe fully to conſent and agree with the doctrine of the Church, and ſubmitting themſelves to the diſcipline of the ſame.

If any perſon ſo deſirous to be received into the Congregation be notoriouſly defamed, or noted of any corrupt or evill opinion in doctrine, or ſlanderous behaviour in life, the ſame may not by the Paſtor and Elders be admitted, till he have either purged himſelfe thereof, or elſe have declared himſelfe to the Paſtor and Elders penitent for the ſame.

*The good behaviour and godly converſation required of ſuch as are received.*

Secondly, all the members of the Church ſo admitted and received ſhall diligently obſerve and keepe all ſuch godly diſcipline and orders appointed within the Church which tend to the increaſe of knowledge and godlineſſe of life, as the appointed times of Prayer, Preaching, and hearing Gods Word, the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, with ſubmiſſion to all godly diſcipline of the Church.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, ſuch alſo as being in England, after knowledge received, have communicated with the Popiſh Maſſe, contrary to their conſciences, by reaſon of feare, weakeneſſe, or otherwiſe, may not be received till they have confeſſed their fall before the Paſtor and Seniors, and have ſhewed themſelves penitent for the ſame.

*This article I finde raſed in the copie, what they ment by it I know not.*

*How the youth ſhall be Catechiſed.*

Alſo for the increaſe of godly knowledge and vertue, all the youth ſhall reſort to the Church every Saturday at two of the clocke at afternoone, and when we have a ſeverall Church, at one of the clocke on the Sunday at afternoone, there to be inſtructed in the Catechiſme, and not to be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make profeſſion of their faith before the whole Congregation. And alſo to have an honeſt teſtimony of towardneſſe in godly converſation, and that every member of the Church doe not refuſe to reade a declaration of their faith before the Paſtor and Elders when ſoever they ſhall bee thereto required.

*The order of correction, for private and privie offences.*

Fourthly, for as much as no charge is ſo perfect but offences may ariſe, for godly, charitable redreſſing and reforming of ſuch, this order is to be obſerved.

Firſt, if any of the Congregation be offenſive in manners or doctrine to any of the brethren, ſo that offence be private & not publikely knowne, there can be no better order deviſed, then that which Chriſt himſelfe hath appointed, which is, firſt brotherly to admoniſh him alone, if that doe not prevaile, call one or two witneſſes, if that alſo doe not profit, then to declare it to the Paſtor and Elders, to whom the Church hath given authoritie to take order in ſuch caſes according to the qualitie and grievouſneſſe of the offence and crime.

*Of the order of correction for publicke and open crimes.*

But if any perſon ſhall be a notorious knowne offender, ſo as he is offenſive to the whole Church, then ſhall the Paſtor and Elders immediatly call the offender before them, and travell with

with him to reduce him to true repentance, and ſatisfying of the Congregation, which if he obſtinately refuſe to doe; then the Paſtor ſhall ſignifie his offence and contempt to the whole Congregation; deſiring them to pray for him, and further to aſſigne him a day to be denounced excommunicate before the Church, except in the meane time the offender ſubmit himſelfe before the Paſtor and Seniors, to the order of diſcipline.

Finally, in caſe any perſon of this Congregation be knowne to be an hinderer, or a defacer of any of the godly uſages now exerciſed in the ſame Congregation, either privily or apertly, by word, letter, or deed; the ſame ſhall acknowledge his offence with ſatisfaction to the Church, according to the true order of diſcipline.

*The ſecond part of diſcipline concerning the Miniſters and Elders, and their elections.*

Firſt for the election of Miniſters and Elders, the qualities of the ſame are to be examined and conſidered according to the rule of Saint *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 3. whereof this is the ſumme, That no man be elected whoſe doctrine or life can juſtly be reproved and condemned. As concerning the order and forme of electing, the ſame is to be obſerved which hath already beene practiſed, and is hereunto annexed.

*Of their offices and functions.*

The Paſtor, according to the commandement of the holy Ghoſt in the Scriptures, ought with all paſtorall care, diligently to attend to his flocke, in preaching Gods Word, in miniſtring the Sacraments, in example of good life, in exhorting, admoniſhing, rebuking, and as the chiefe mouth of the Church, to open and declare all orders taken by him and the Elders, which are to be opened and publiſhed; to whom no man may in the face of the Congregation reply. But if any thinke himſelfe to have cauſe to ſpeake, let him come before the Elders in the place appointed for their meeting, and there to open his minde, and to be heard with all charitie indifferently.

*The*

*The Office of Preachers, and ſuch as are learned in the Congregation.*

The office of Preachers, and ſuch as are learned in the Church is to aſſiſt the Paſtor in Preaching the Word, miniſtring the Sacraments, and in all conſultations and meetings of him and the Elders, eſpecially in cauſes of Doctrine, and alſo at other times when they ſhall be required.

*The Office of Elders.*

The office of Elders is to be (as it were) cenſors, overſeers of manners and diſorders. And to be with the Paſtor in all conſultations, for the publike order of the Church, and that all corrections and exercciſes of diſcipline be done with their common counſell.

*Deacons.*

Conſidering alſo the preſent State of the Church, it is thought requiſite that the Deacons, beſides the ſpeciall office appointed in the Acts of the Apoſtles, in caring and providing for the poore, doe alſo viſit the ſick, and be aſſiſtant in Catechiſing the youth, if they ſhall be thereunto required.

The ſame order and form is to be uſed for reformation of offences and crimes in Miniſters and Elders which is deſcribed for other offenders, and to be done towards them rather with more ſeverity.

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## Now followeth the Diſcipline reformed and confirmed by the authority of the Church, and Magiſtrate.

IT is moſt comely and godly, that Chriſtian reſort together in place and time thereunto by common conſent appointed (if the perſecution of the ungodly will ſuffer the ſame and they themſelves have no urgent cauſe to the contrary) there to heare the pure doctrine of Gods Word taught, 1. *The new diſcipline.*

and themſelves openly vvith their preſence and voice to declare the conſent of their hearts to the ſame, and to confeſſe vvith their mouth agreeably, their beliefe and faith upon God and his holy Word, according to the Scriptures.

2. The Congregation thus aſſembled, is a particular viſible Church, ſuch as may be in divers places of the vvorld, very many. And all theſe particular Churches joyned together, not in place (for that is not poſſible) but by the conjunction of true doctrine and faith in the ſame, doe make one whole Church in this world. And the Elect of God that be in this whole Church, and every part thereof, with all the Elect that hath been from the beginning of the vvorld, and ſhall be to the end thereof, doe all together make that holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church, the Spouſe of our Saviour Chriſt, which he hath purified to himſelfe in his blood, whereof mention is made in the Creed. I beleeve one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church. But at this preſent our conſideration muſt be of the viſible and particular Church.

3. The ſignes and notes of a viſible Church are theſe. Firſt, true and godly doctrine. Secondly, the right miniſtration and uſe of the Sacraments, and Common Prayer. Thirdly, honeſt and godly life, if not in the whole multitude, yet in many of them: Fourthly, Diſcipline, that is, the correction of vices, but the two firſt notes are ſuch, as without the which, no forme of any godly viſible Church can poſſibly be. Wherefore, they be the principall and chiefe notes. And therefore we define a particular Church viſible, to be the Congregation of Chriſtian men, whether they be few or many aſſembling together in place and time convenient to heare Chriſts true Doctrine taught, to uſe his holy Sacraments rightly, and to make their common Prayer together, in the which there appeareth a ſtudy of honeſt and godly life, and which hath in it a godly Diſcipline, that is to ſay, Ordinances and Decrees Eccleſiaſticall for the preſervation of comely order, and for the correction of vices.

*Of the doctrine of the Church, which is the firſt note.*

4. The doctrine which we hold and profeſſe in our Church, is the ſame that is taught in the Canonicall Bookes of the holy Bible,

Bible, conteining the old testament and the new, the which is conteined the true and lively word of God and the doctrine of health, both as concerning faith and godly life at full sufficient for the salvation of all the faithfull that unfainedly beleeve therein. The summe of the which as concerning faith, as briefely and truly comprehended in the three Creeds, the common Creed, commonly called the Creed of the Apostles, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of *Athanasius*: And as concerning godly life, in the ten Commandements, written in the 20. Chapter of *Exodus*.

*Of the Sacraments, and common Prayer, the second note.*

We observe and keepe the forme and order of the ministration of the Sacraments and Common prayer, as it is set forth by the authoritie of the blessed King *Edward* of famous memory, in the last Booke of the English Service: whereof notwithstanding in the respect of times and places, and other circumstances, certaine Rites and Ceremonies appointed in the said Booke, as things indifferent, may be left out, as we at this present doe. 5.

The times and houres for the teaching and hearing of Gods Word, and the ministration of the Sacraments, and saying and hearing of the Common prayer, such as be now used, or shall hereafter by common consent be thought most meete to be used, are to be kept and observed of all men not having lawfull cause to the contrary. 6.

*Of the Ministers of the Word, Sacraments, and Common prayer.*

It is thought expedient for the Church at this present, to have two Ministers or Teachers of the Word elected, of doctrine and godly life, such as the rule of the Scripture doth requrie as much as may be; and that the said two Ministers and Teachers of the Word shall in all things and points be of like authoritie, and neither of them superiour or inferiour to other. 7.

Item, That the said two Ministers shall by themselves, or fit persons by them and their Seniors in the name of the whole Congregation to be appointed, when necessary cause shall 8.

ſo require, preach the ordinary Sermons on Wedneſdaies, Thurſdaies and Sundaies before noone, and after noone inſtruct and heare the examination of the youth in the Catechiſme, on Sunday in the afternoone at the houre accuſtomed, and ſhall by themſelves, or other appointed perſons, as is aforeſaid, Miniſter the Sacraments duly, ſay the common Prayers diſtinctly, viſit and comfort the ſicke, ſpecially at their laſt time and houre of death, bury the dead comely, and obſerve all other comely rites and uſages in the Church directing all their behaviour, acts, and life according to the rule of their vocation ſet forth in the holy Scriptures.

9. Item that ſixe, either fewer or more, (as the ſtabilitie of the Church will beare) ſuch as be godly and have neede of the helpe of the Church, be appointed by the Miniſters and Seniors in the name of the whole Congregation, whereof foure to be well learned, who ſhall read and expound the Chapters, and ſhall helpe the two Miniſters of the Word, when neede ſhall require in the doctrine of the Word, Catechizing of youth, Miniſtring of the Sacraments, ſaying of common prayer; and the other two or moe, ſhall aide alſo the ſaid Miniſters, Seniors, and Deacons in viſiting of the ſicke, and ſeeing to ſtrangers, & in calling of the Congregation when need ſhall be, and in all other neceſſary and comely things and rites to be done in the Church. Notwithſtanding, any other godly and learned men which live of themſelves, and be not burthens to the Church may helpe the Miniſters of the VVord in the above named Eccleſiaſticall functions, if they themſelves ſo will, and be thereunto called by the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors.

10. Item, for the further inſtruction of youth and ſervants, it is thought good, that beſides the examination of children in the Catechiſme ordinarily uſed, the ſaid children and ſervants with the whole Congregation, ſhould be all preſent at our ordinary Sermon, to be made purpoſely for them on Sundayes at afternoone, ſo learnedly, that it be yet for their capacitie moſt plaine, and with all poſſible perſpicuitie, and that one tenor of Chriſtian doctrine from the beginning to the end be obſerved and kept in the ſaid Sermon, of the which no better forme in our judgement can be than *Calvins* Catechiſme, received in ſo many

many Churches, and tranſlated into ſo many languages: It is thought good therefore that the Preacher of the ſaid Catechiſing Sermon follow the good order of that Catechiſme in his Sermons, and confirme the godly doctrine of the ſame by the Scriptures, and after the ſame Sermon the Common prayer, and Service to be exerciſed and finiſhed as at other times.

Item, That the one Preacher being ſicke, the other ſhall doe or ſee done by other fit perſons, as is before ſaid, all the dutie and duties to the other ſo ſicke belonging. 11.

Item, That a Lecture of Divinitie and Diſputations for the exerciſe of Students, if it may be maintained, or elſe that Propheſie be uſed every fortnight in the Engliſh tongue, for the exerciſe of the ſaid Students, and edifying of the Congregation, or both Diſputations and Propheſie alſo, if it ſo ſhall ſeeme good unto the Miniſters and Seniors. 12.

Item, That ſuch as ſhall thereunto ſeeme moſt meete of the Congregation ſhall be appointed to tranſlate into Engliſh ſome ſuch Books, as ſhall be profitable, either for the inſtruction, or for the comfort of our country in this our exile and affliction of our country. 13.

Item, That the common Books, or Librarie of the Church, be at the appointment of the Miniſter and the Seniors in ſuch place as all the Students may moſt conveniently come unto. 14.

*The third Note, that is Chriſtian life, and good Works, the fruits of godly Doctrine.*

Item, VVe teach that ſuch good workes are to be done, as are commanded by Gods VVord in the Scriptures, ſuch evill deeds to be avoided as are forbidden by the ſame. 15.

And whereas concerning the fruits of godly Doctrine, none is more commanded in the Scriptures, than the releeving of the poore, which either is done privately by every perſon, or elſe by the common treaſury of the Church, for the good and right uſe and order of the ſame: it appeareth as well by Gods VVord, as by the example of Churches rightly reformed, that both the keeping, and alſo the diſtribution of the treaſure of the Church appertaineth to the Seniors, who be neceſſary Miniſters in the Church of Chriſt that without them it cannot well be. For Chriſt ſaith you ſhall have alwayes poore men among you. 16.

Wherefore they ought to be honored of all men, and they themſelves ought to have this opinion, that they highly pleaſe God in that Miniſtery.

17. Wherefore we thinke it expedient for the Church that foure men of ſpeciall gravitie, authoritie, and credit in the Church, ſuch as of themſelves, be able to live and will doe this godly office rather for Chriſts ſake, and the love they bare to him and his poore flocke, then for any their owne neceſſitie or worldly reward, be choſen to be Deacons, which foure Deacons ſhall have the cuſtodie of the treaſure and diſtribution of the ſame, and other almes of the Church remaining in their hands and keeping, in ſuch ſort as it ſhall ſeeme good to the Miniſters, Seniors, and Deacons for the moſt ſafetie of the ſaid treaſure.

18. Item, that although the Deacons have in their cuſtodie the treaſure of the Church, yet the Miniſters and Seniors ſhall have knowledge of the whole ſumme of the ſayd treaſure.

19. Provided alwayes that neither the ſaid foure Deacons, Miſters, Seniors, or any of them ſhall have any knowledge or make any inquiſition of the giver or givers of any almes to the poore of the ſaid Church, otherwiſe then meſſenger or bringer of the ſaid Almes ſhall of himſelfe declare, to whom, and as he hath commiſſion from the givers ſo to doe, but that the gift be received and knowne, and the giver and givers names unknowne and kept cloſe with all poſſible ſecretie.

20. Item that the ſaid Deacons once in a moneth, that is, the laſt day of every moneth ſhall make their accounts before the Miniſters and Seniors have the ſaid treaſure beſtowed, and that all the ſaid company ſo appointed to make their account, ſhall note the remaines of the ſaid treaſure at the day and yeare in the which every account ſhall be taken.

21. Item, we ethinke good and doe decree, that there being a Schoole in the ſaid Church (ſeeing the ſaid Schoole is a member of the ſaid Church, as of the whole body) the treaſure for the maintenance, and for the maintenance of the otherpoore alſo be all one and joyned together; that neither in the procuring of the ſaid treaſure, or in the diſtribution thereof, any occaſion of diviſion, emulation, or contention doe happen among them who ought to live together like brethren, and members

of

of one body in all concord, conjunction and unitie; otherwiſe, the Schoole which is of it ſelf ſo worthy a member of the body, may by abuſe, cauſe not onely the hinderance, but alſo the deſtruction of the whole body.

Item, that in the diſtribution of the ſaid treaſure a ſpeciall regard be had of the ſaid ſtudents that be poore. Firſt, for that they be poore, and againe, for that they be deſtinate to be workmen in the Lords vineyard, and ſo worthy members in the body. And that as they be ſtudious of the Scriptures ſpecially, and yet with all, of other liberall Arts alſo, as Miniſters, and handmaids to the ſetting forth of Gods word, ſo they may bee liberally handled, and receive Gods bleſſing, which is the liberalitie of the godly without the ſhame and abaſhment as the gift of God, who giveth to all men and upbraideth no man. 22.

Item, it is decreed, and alſo the whole Congregation deſireth the Deacons monethly to viſit, and ſpeak privately with the ſaid Students that be poore, & other poore alſo; and to examine their ſtates friendly and charitably, and according to every mans neceſſitie, as the treaſure of the Church will beare, to offer to every one of them with obteſtation to them, that if they have no neede thereof they receive it not. For that were nothing elſe but to rob the needy; for ſo ſhall both the ſhamefaſtneſſe of the honeſt, and liberall natures be ſaved and the treaſure of the Church willingly ſpared. For he that upon ſuch obteſtation will not refraine to receive that is offered, when he hath no need; will not be aſhamed to beg and crave when hee hath no need, and that not onely lying, but alſo with perjury if need be. 23.

Item, if any by evident proofes, ſuch as cannot be gainſayd, be found to have taken or uſed the treaſure of the Church, having no need thereof, that then, not onely he be exempted from any more partaking of the ſaid treaſure till it appeare that he have evident need, but alſo that he doe make therefore publike ſatisfaction, before he be admitted to the common. 24.

Item, that the Seniors and Deacons ſee that the poore of the Congregation be not idle but diligent in well doing. 25.

Item, that if there be any of the poore ſicke, that then forthwith one of the Deacons reſort to them and preſently ſuccour their neceſſitie, and the needy ſtrangers of our nation be holpen 26.

towards

towards their travell and journey, if the treaſure of the Church will beare it.

27. Item, that in caſe the treaſure of the Church do faile or wax thin, that then ſuch as be of the wealthy ſort of the Congregation, ſhall quarterly contribute according to their ability and godly devotion for the maintenance of the Miniſtery, poore, and Students of the Congregation. And the ſame at every quarter day to be delivered into the hands of the Deacons.

28. Item, wee thinke good that declaration be made by the Preachers of Gods Word divers times, as juſt occaſion will ſerve, how comely and profitable for Chriſts Church, that all mens liberality towards the poore doe come to the hands of the ſaid foure Deacons, by them publikely in the name of the whole Church to be Miniſtred to the poore: for by this rule, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth may beſt bee obſerved. And the blowing of the trumpet before the Almes giver, and all worldly reward of vaine commendation may beſt be avoided: and ſo our heavenly Father, who ſeeth in ſecret, will reward every man more abundantly in the day of the Revelation of the thoughts of all men.

29. Item, we thinke good that certain Letters in the ſame ſence be written with an exhortation and hearty prayer to all ſuch as will relieve the poore of our Congregation with their godly liberality, that they will deliver or ſend their charitable reliefe to the ſaid foure Deacons, commonly to be beſtowed of them upon the poore, whether they be Students, or other, according to every mans neceſſity: which the ſaid Deacons and the Church here preſent can beſt know and judge, rather then to commit the Almes to any one perſons hand, to any private uſe, for the avoiding of ſundry ſuſpitions, and many other inconveniences, that may be then preſently, and hereafter ariſe and enſue of the ſame: And the ſaid Letters ſubſcribed with as many hands of the Congregation as ſhall ſeem good, with a generall ſuperſcription to all ſuch as will charitably relieve the poor of our Congregation, without any naming of any perſons, to be ſent where the Miniſters, Seniors, and Deacons, or the more of them ſhall thinke good by a moſt faithfull and diſcreet meſſenger, to all places where ſuch good men, by whoſe liberality

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the Church is relieved, doe or may reſort, that the ſaid Letters may by the ſaid meſſenger be ſhewed as a teſtimonie of credit to the ſaid godly men, in places and at times moſt convenient.

*This Article following 29. I alſo finde in the Copie.*

Item, as concerning the reliefe they had at ſtrangers hands, who be not of our Church: ſuch order is to be taken as ſhall ſeeme moſt expedient to the Miniſters of the VVord and Sacraments. It ſeemeth that this Article was put in, in place of the former which they could not agree upon. 30.

Item, we thinke it expedient that the ſaid foure Deacons be charged neither with the helping of the Miniſters in the preaching of the word, neither in the Catechizing of the youth, neither in miniſtring of Sacraments, or ſaying of Common Prayer, or ſpecially, the viſiting of the ſicke, other than the poore for the releeving of their neceſſitie, as with things pertaining to the office of Deaconſhip, nor with any other offices other than is expreſſedly declared in Gods VVord appertaine to the Deacons: according to the rule of the which, they ſhall by all meanes poſſible direct their doings: the ſumme whereof is, diligently to receive and keepe all, and all manner of publike and private almes, and the ſame faithfully to beſtow upon the poore of Chriſts Church, according as every mans neceſſitie ſhall require, and by all meanes poſſible, as well by word as by writing, to procure the maintenance of the ſaid treaſure of the Church, ſo to their credit committed. Notwithſtanding, it is not meant hereby, but that any of the ſaid Deacons, being learned, when good occaſion ſhall thereto ſerve, may preach or inſtruct the youth in the Catechiſme, or doe any other godly function whereunto they ſhall be called. 31.

Item, that where there is no godlier act than to ſuccour ſuch as be both ſicke and poore, for that their burthen is moſt heavie, we thinke good, if the abilitie of the Church will extend thereunto: that there be foure grave and honeſt women, either widowes or wives (ſuch as have neede of the helpe of the Church) appointed and choſen with the conſent of their huſbands to keepe the poore, when they be ſicke, and to watch with them by courſe one after another: and that they have 32.

therefore cut off the treasure of the Church a certaine stipend paid unto them.

*Of the discipline of the Church which is the fourth and last note.*

33. First in all matters touching conscience, Gods Word is the perfect rule as well for those things which Christian men ought to doe, as for such things as they are bound to abstaine from.

34. Item, in all controversies civill, the civill or municipall law of the countrey or citie where the Church is, is a sufficient rule to be obeyed.

35. Item, all matters touching the Congregation, or the members of the same directly appertaining to neither of the two former parts; Ecclesiasticall ordinance and discipline of the said Church, ought by all members of the same to be obeyed.

36. Item, although this word Discipline generally doth conteine all Ecclesiasticall orders and ordinances, yet in this place it is properly taken for the rule of outward honest orders and manners and of the punishment and correction of vices.

37. Item, for the execution of the which discipline to the maintaining of all comely order and vertue in the Church, and correction of disorder and vice, it is agreed that six men of speciall gravitie, authoritie and wisedome, such as the rule of the holy Scriptures doth set forth as much as may be, shall be chosen to be Seniors, which six Seniors with the two Ministers of the Word shall have the execution of the Discipline and government of the Church, and shall be reverenced, and in all things godly and reasonably obeyed and reverenced of all persons in the Congregation under paine of most sharpe discipline.

38. Provided alwayes that the said Ministers and Seniors severally and joyntly shall have no authoritie to make any manner of decrees or ordinances to bind the Congregation or any member thereof; but shall execute such ordinances and decrees as shall be made by the Congregation, and to them delivered.

*Of the election of all Ministers.*

39. Item, it is agreed that all Seniors, Deacons and all other Ministers (whatsoever they be) the two teachers and Ministers of

of the word onely excepted, ſhall once a yeare, that is, the firſt day of March take an end of their miniſtery whatſoever it be; and they from that day, till a new election be made, which ſhall be within one fortnight after the ſaid firſt day of March (unleſſe ſome great cauſes incident do let the ſame) ſhall be all private perſons, as other members of the Congregation and ſo continue ſtill, till they be new elected to the ſame, or other miniſtery or office; every one of them yet notwithſtanding in the meane time, from the ſaid firſt day of March, till new Miniſters be elected, doing the dutie and duties to your office belonging.

Item, that publike prayer and faſt be made before, and at the election of all Miniſters in time and continuance, as the Congregation ſhall ſeeme good. 40.

Item, that before the election of the Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons the places of the Scriptures for that purpoſe moſt fit, be openly read, and a Sermon to be made upon the ſame, as for the preſent purpoſe ſhall be moſt convenient. 41.

Item, that election be made by bills, every man bringing a little bill rolled up, the names of ſuch perſons appointed, as they ſhall thinke moſt meete for the office whereunto the election is then made. 42.

Item, that impoſition of hands with prayer be uſed at the inſtitution of the ſaid Miniſters, Seniors and Deacons, according to the doctrine and examples of the Scriptures. 43.

*Of the calling and aſſembling of the Congregation.*

Item, that the Miniſters and Seniors thus elect, have now authoritie as the pricipall members of the Congregation, to governe the ſaid Congregation according to Gods word, and the diſcipline of the Church as is aforeſaid: And alſo to call together and aſſemble the ſaid Congregation for cauſes and at times as ſhall to them ſeeme expedient. 44.

Provided alwayes that if any diſſention ſhall happen betweene the Miniſters and the Seniors, or the more part of them and the body of the Congregation or the more part of it; and that the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors in ſuch controverſie being deſired thereto, will not aſſemble the Congregation, that then

the Congregation may of it ſelfe come together, and conſult and determine as concerning the ſaid controverſie, or controverſies, and the ſaid aſſembly to be a lawfull Congregation, and that which they the more part of them ſo aſſembling ſhall judge or decree, the ſame to be a lawfull Decree and Ordinance of ſufficient force to binde the whole Congregation and every member of the ſame.

45. Item, that no man being ſummoned or warned, either by the Miniſters and Seniors, or in the name of the Congregation, ſo as afore is ſaid aſſembled, to appeare in the Congregation ſhall abſent himſelfe but upon a lawfull cauſe, under paine of diſcipline: and that none ſhall depart out of the ſaid Congregation ſo aſſembled till it be broken up, without licence of the whole, or the more part remaining, upon paine of diſcipline before the whole Congregation therefore.

46. Item, in caſe ſome doe depart, that yet notwithſtanding thoſe which ſtill remaine (if they be the greater part) to be a lawfull Congregation: and that which they or the more part of them ſhall decree, to be a lawfull Decree, of force to binde the whole body, Miniſters, Seniors, Deacons, and every other member or members thereof without exception.

47. Item, that no checking or taunting be uſed in the ſaid Congregation, by any perſons, under paine of Diſcipline, and that in ſpeaking, all other ſhall hold their peace and keepe ſilence: abſtaining alſo from private talke, that all things may be done comely and in order.

48. Item, that it ſhall be lawfull that every member of the Congregation, making proteſtation of licence before to the Miniſters, Seniors, and the whole Congregation, may ſpeake his minde in the Congregation, ſo he ſpeake quietly and not againſt Gods truth, for in caſe he ſpeake ungodly, that then it ſhall be lawfull for the Miniſters, Seniors, or any of them to command him ſilence by and by.

*The manner of receiving all ſorts of perſons into the ſaid Congregation.*

49. First, for the avoiding of all Hereſies and Sects in our Churches, every one, as well men as women which deſire to be

received

receiued ſhall make a declaration, or confeſſion of their faith before the Miniſters and Elders, ſhewing himſelfe fully to conſent and agree with the doctrine of the Church, and ſubmitting themſelues to the Diſcipline of the ſame, and the ſame to teſtifie by ſubſcribing thereto if they can write. 49.

Item, If any perſon ſo deſirous to be receiued into the Congregation be notoriouſly defamed, or noted of any corrupt behaviour, or euill opinion in doctrine, or ſlanderous behaviour in life, the ſame may not by the Miniſters and Elders be admitted, till he haue either purged himſelfe thereof, or elſe haue declared himſelfe to the Miniſters and Elders penitent for the ſame. 50.

*Of admiſſion to the holy Communion.*

Item, that none of the youth be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make profeſſion of their faith before the whole Congregation, and alſo to haue an honeſt teſtimony of towardneſſe in godly converſation. 51.

Item, that none openly noted as a Hereticke, Sectary, Idolater, or other notorious offender, ſhall be admitted to the communion, before he either purge or reconcile himſelfe publikely before the whole Congregation; and that euery member of the Congregation doe not refuſe to render a declaration of their faith before the Miniſters and Elders, whenſoeuer they ſhall by them be thereunto required. 52.

*The order of proceeding to the execution of the Diſcipline, and correction of offences.*

For as much as no Church is ſo perfect, but offences may riſe, for godly and charitable redreſſing and reforming of ſuch, this order is to be obſerued: Firſt, if any of the Congregation be offenſiue in manners or doctrine, to any of the brethren, ſo that the offence be priuate and not publikely knowne, there can be no better order deuiſed than that which Chriſt himſelfe hath appointed, which is firſt, brotherly to admoniſh him alone; if that doe not preuaile, to call one or two witneſſes; if that alſo doe not profit, then to declare it to the Miniſters and Elders, to whom the Congregation hath giuen authority to 53.

take order in such cases according to the Discipline of the Church.

54. Item, that it may be the better knowne, what is meant by this word Discipline, or correction of vice, we thinke that there be three degrees of Ecclesiasticall discipline. The first, that the offender, acknowledge his fault, and shew himselfe penitent before the Ministers and the Seniors: The second, that if hee will not so doe, as well his originall crime, as also his contempt of the Ministers and Elders who have the authoritie of the Church, he openly declared by one of the Ministers, before the whole Congregation, and that he therefore make satisfaction, both for his originall crime, & also for his contempt of the Ministers before the whole Congregation, and that he be not admitted to the Communion before he have satisfied: The third, that if he remaine still obstinate before the whole Congregation after a time to him by the whole Congregation limited to repent in, he then shall be openly denounced excommunicate, which excommunication, seeing it is the uttermost penalty of Ecclesiasticall power, shall not therefore be executed, untill the matter be heard by the whole Church; or

55. such as it shall specially appoint thereunto.

Item, If any person shall be a notorious knowne offender, so as he is offensive to the whole Congregation, then shall the Ministers & Elders immediatly call the offender before them, and travell with him to reduce him to true repentance, and satisfiing of the Congregation; which, if he obstinately refuse to doe, then one of the Ministers shall signifie his offence and contempt to the whole Congregation, desiring them to pray for him: and further to assigne him a day to be denounced excommunicate before the Congregation: except in the meane time the offendor, submit himselfe before the whole Congrega-

56. tion to the order of the discipline.

Item, that neither the Seniors and Ministers, nor the whole Congregation, shall meddle in any civill matters, as Judges or determiners of the same, but onely as arbitrers for peace making, that the Magistrates be troubled as little as may be with our controversies; but in case the Seniors, and first, and afterwards the Congregation, or such as the Congregation

gregation ſhall appoint, can make no peaceable end, by way of arbitrement, then the judgement of the ſaid matters to be referred to the Magiſtrates of the Citie, and there to be ended.

Item, we thinke good for our quietneſſe ſake, and for the conſerving of the good report of our Nation, that all matters and controverſies among our ſelves, if they cannot privately be pacified (which firſt ought to be attempted) be brought before the Seniors and Miniſters, and there to be heard: and in caſe they cannot end them, then afterward to be referred to the whole Congregation, or ſuch as the Congregation ſhall appoint to the hearing and determining thereof, if they can: and that no matter be brought unto the Magiſtrate or Senate, to hinder, derogate, or let the authority of the Church, or the diſcipline thereof, before theſe wayes be proved under paine of diſcipline before the Congregation, unleſſe the thing appertain directly to the ſtate of the city, or offence againſt the Laws, Senate, or Magiſtrate of the ſame. In which caſes every man may and ought forthwith to complaine to the Magiſtrates. 57.

Item, whereas the beſt way of Chriſtian reconciliation is, that the parties privately betweene themſelves agree: and the next, that agreement be made by mediation of ſome peaceable and godly men: We decree, that in caſe two, foure, ſixe, moe, or leſſe doe conſult among themſelves, or travell with the parties, for peace making quietly and charitably, then the ſaid parties in ſo doing, doe nothing againſt good order of diſcipline, but according to the duty and office of Chriſtian and peaceable men. 58.

Item, that the Miniſters and Seniors ſhall have authority to heare and determine, on the behalf of the whole Church, all offences (determinable by the Congregation) committed by any perſon in the Congregation: unleſſe the party called before them have juſt occaſion to take exceptions to the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors: or to appeale from them as not competent judges. 59.

Item, if any have juſt occaſion to take exception to ſome of the Miniſters and Seniors, and not to the more part: that then thoſe of the Miniſters and Seniors, to whom the exception is made, in this caſe ſhall not bee judges, but in this caſe for the time removed from the Miniſtery, and that the reſt of the Miniſters 60.

Miniſters and Seniors to whom no exception ſhall be made with as many of the Congregation joyned to them, as they be in number which ſhall be excepted, ſhall be Arbitrers and Judges in the ſaid cauſes; and that the ſaid perſons ſo to be joyned to the Miniſters and Seniors, ſhall be appointed by the Congregation, the Miniſters and Seniors not excepted, giving their voyces as other of the Congregation.

61. Item, if exception be taken, to the more part of the Miniſters and Seniors, that then the Church ſhall appoint ſixe moe to be Judges with the reſt of the Miniſters, againſt whom exception is not made: the ſame reſt of the Miniſters having their voyces in the election of the ſixe, as other members of the Church.

62. Item, if all the Miniſters and Seniors be ſuſpected or found parties, or if any appeale be made from them, that then ſuch appeale be made to the body of the Congregation. The Miniſters, Seniors, and parties excepted. And that the body of the Congregation may appoint ſo many of the Congregation to heare and determine the ſaid matter or matters as it ſhall ſeeme good to the Congregation.

63. Item, If any perſon doe unjuſtly take exceptions to any of the Miniſters, or appeale from the whole Miniſtry; that then ſuch perſons, beſide the puniſhment for the principall cauſe, ſhall alſo be puniſhed as a contemner of the Miniſtry, and a diſturber of the Church.

64. Item, If all the Miniſters and Seniors from whom it ſhall be appealed, as is aforeſaid, ſhall ſay and challenge the more part of the Congregation as not indifferent Judges, that then they may appeale from the Congregation to the Magiſtrate, provided, that if any Miniſter or Senior appeale to the Magiſtrate, and be found to have done it without juſt cauſe, that then by that fact, he ſhall be removed from his Miniſtry, and ſhall never after be admitted in the Miniſtry before he hath made publike ſatisfaction for the ſame.

65. Item, That the Miniſters and Seniors, and every of them be ſubject to Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline and correction, as other private members of the Church be. And that in caſe any perſon or perſons accuſe any of the Miniſters or Elders, or the more

part

part of them, or them all, of any crime or crimes, the ſame order of proceeding in all points be uſed as it is heretofore particularly expreſſed in the making of the exception, to ſome or the more part, or all, the ſaid Miniſters and Seniors, as parties, or otherwiſe incompetent arbitrers.

Item, that no accuſation againſt any of the Miniſters and Seniors be admitted under two witneſſes at the leaſt. And that if any doe uujuſtly accuſe the Miniſters and Seniors or any of them, that he or they ſhall therefore be moſt ſharpely diſciplined as a contemner and defacer of the Miniſtery, and a diſturber of the whole Church. 66.

If any controverſie be upon the doubtfull meaning of any word or words in the diſcipline, that firſt it be referred to the Miniſters and Seniors. And if they cannot agree thereupon, then the thing to be brought and referred to the whole Congregation. 67.

Item, for the avoiding of occaſion of contention hereafter, that bookes of diſcipline concerning this Church heretofore made be of no effect hereafter, but void and cancelled. 68.

Item, that all bookes and writings of record concerning Acts and Orders in this Church be delivered, and remaine in the cuſtodie of the Miniſters and Elders for the time being. 69.

Item, that a Regiſter booke be kept by the Miniſters and Seniors of all ſuch names as be in the Congregation and ſuch as ſhall be hereafter admitted to be written in the ſame. 70.

Item, that marriages, Chriſtnings, and Burialls, with the day and yeare thereof be regiſtred in the ſame booke. 71.

Item, for the avoiding all controverſies that hereafter may happy, it is ordained, that all Teſtaments and Wills made by any of our nation dying in this Congregation ſhall be brought forth and exhibited to the Seniors of this Congregation for the time being, for a perpetuall teſtimony of the truth in that behalfe. 72.

Item, that becauſe all mens doings be uncertaine and changeable, the diſcipline and orders of the Church ſhall be read openly once every quarter and warning thereof before ſhall be given to the whole Congregation, both that every member thereof may know their dutie, and that every man 73.

may with liberty quietly ſpeake his minde for the changing and amending of it or any part thereof, according to Gods Word, and the ſame exhibited in Writing with the arguments and reaſons of that his requeſt.

## The names of ſuch as ſubſcribed to this Diſcipline, and were of the Church.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| THomas Crawley. | Thomas Aſhley. | Edmond Oldſworth. |
| Chriſtop. Hales. | Edman Sutton. | Thomas Acworth. |
| Richard Alvie. | Walter Francke. | Richard Letler. |
| Richard Maſon. | Richard Beeſley. | Richard Nagors. |
| Percivall Harrington. | Henry Reignolds. | Robert Beſte. |
| Richard Porter. | Magnus Elyot. | Henry Perryus. |
| David Whitehead. | John Browne. | John Mullins. |
| John Pedder. | John Hales. | Gre. Railton. |
| Alexander Nowell. | John Fauconer. | Thomas Serbis. |
| Thomas Wilſon. | John Bedell. | John Old. |
| James Peers. | Thomas Sandes. | Edward Parpoint. |
| Thomas Walker. | John Kelke. | Thomas Watts. |
| Leonard Parry. | Robert Crowley. | William Maſter. |
| Laurance Kent. | Thomas Knolle. | Peter Sade. |
| John Vates. | William Raulings. | Thomas Water. |
| Thomas Willobie | Edmond Tomſon. | Richard Luddington. |
| Thomas Oldſworth. | Edmond Harries. | Philip Adiſhe. |
| Gawin Dixſon. | John Geoffrie. | Antony Donning. |
| Edward Colton. | John Wilford. | John Turpin. |

The 21. of *December* 1557. theſe were added to the Church.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Frances Knolls. | Edward Boyes. | John Browne. |
| Frances Wilford. | Thomas Knot. | Thomas Donnell. |
| Arthur Saule. | Richard Sandell. | Robert Joyner. |
| Henry Wood. | Rich. Lynbrough. | Ralph Sely. |
| Thomas Wilford. | Henry Knolls. | William Davage. |
| John Pentony. | Reignold Baker. | Robert Hodgſton. |
| Thomas Bagſter. | John Ade. | Daniell Rogers. |
| Thomas Todchamber. | Michael Coke. | Alexander Nowell. |

Now

Now that you have heard both the old Diſcipline, and that which was by the authority of the Magiſtrate deviſed. Order requireth that I place here the Reaſons which Maſter *Horne* and the reſt of his ſide brought againſt the new diſcipline eſtabliſhed.

And to the end this volume ſhould not exceede meaſure in greatneſſe, I thinke it expedient to doe here, as I have done already, and mind to doe throughout the whole Story, which is of a leafe, to take (as I might ſay) a line or two, as one loath to weary you, ſith a taſt may ſuffice.

VII.

*To the Seventh Article of the new Diſcipline.*

18. *Sept.* *Horne.* *Iſaac.* *Chambers.* *Wilford.* *with diuers others.*

To the Article of two Miniſters of like charge and authority; we thinke we have good reaſons to require that there be no moe in the ſpeciall burthen and charge paſtorall then one, to whom the others joyned with him for preaching of the Word, and miniſtring the Sacraments ſhall not in cure and charge, government and preheminence, be in all reſpects coequall.

*The Reaſons.*

1. Firſt, the Scripture ſpeaking or treating of the office of a Biſhop or Miniſter, ſo ſpeaketh as it were to be preſuppoſed, and as an order received, that one ſhould in cure and charge be burthened above other, and in government, for order ſake, in preheminence.

2. Item, the expoſitions of all ancient Authors and Writers upon the Scriptures that toucheth that matter, doe altogether as they ſeeme, to gather out of the Text, conclude, declare, and teach one Miniſter or Paſtor in reſpects aforeſaid preferred and charged above other, and thus doe the new alſo.

3. Item, this order of one in cure, charge, and government preferred, have all the Churches to be read of, planted by the Apoſtles and all others in the Primative Church obſerved, whoſe examples of us are not to be neglected.

4. Item, like as good reaſon of it ſelfe forceth and concludeth, ſo all good Authors both new and old doe freely teach, that for conſervation of unitie and concord, and for avoiding of Schiſmes, & diſcord, it is requiſite & neceſſary that a prerogative

and preheminence for cure, charge, and government be committed and given to ſome one, to be (as it is aforeſaid) charged above others.

5. Item, all the Reformed Ghurches of *Germany* for the moſt part be of that judgement, and therefore obſerve that order.

6. Item, if *Nicene* councell decreed and ordered, for good order ſake, that one Biſhop, and not many ſhould be appointed to every one citie, how more is it of neceſſity for order ſake that one little flocke ſhould be content with one.

7. Item, who is ignorant of this, that for the moſt part where not one, but rather two muſt have the eſpeciall cure and charge, there commonly things be moſt negligently done and not ſo much regarded and cared for as otherwiſe they would be.

*The Anſwer of the Church, touching this 7. Article to the Reaſons of the diſſenting brethren.*

*To the* 1. We ſee not by the Scriptures, that any authoritie is given to
*To the* 2. any one above others, but rather to the contrary.

3. 4. As concerning old Writers, we know that *Jerome* expreſly
*Hales.* declareth that in the beginning the Church was ruled equally
*Whitehead* by many. But after when Schiſmes began to ſpring the chiefe
*Nowell.* authoritie was given to one for authorities ſake, and by mans
*Mullins* ordinance rather than by divine authoritie, wherefore we con-
*Wattes.* clude, that as for Schiſmes the firſt order of many was left and
*Crowley.* one chiefe appointed. So now for the avoiding of tyranny a
*Beeſley.* worſe evill in the Church then Schiſmes, which as appeareth by
*Pedder.* the Biſhop of Rome is grounded upon one, we thinke it good
*Parry.* to returne to the firſt order of two or moe equall Miniſters ac-
*Wilſon.* cording to the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, as S. *Jerome* teacheth.
*Sorby.* And that thoſe learned men who doe moſt earneſtly maintaine
*Bedell.* the government of one, confeſſe that until the time of *Dionyſius*,
*Fauconer* who was after Chriſt 300. yeares and more, the Regiment was
*Railton.* equally committed to many. And as for the new, there be ex-
*Crawley.* amples of the beſt Church to the contrary. And Maſter *Cal-*
*Aſhley.* *vin* in the 8. Chapter of his Inſtitutions the 42. and 52. diviſions
*Sutton.* declareth expreſſely that there were from the beginning more
*Raulings.* Miniſters of the word, and that it is but of mans ordinance

that

that one was afterward made chiefe.

This is alleadged of the reformed Churches in Germany the multitudge ought to ſerve no more for one, then the beſt reformed Churches, for two miniſters of the Word. *Beſte, and divers others.*

As concerning Nicene councell it is before anſwered, and in that they decreed there ſhould be but one, it conſequently followeth, that before the ſaid decree there were many. *To the 5. To the 6.*

And if thoſe godly fathers were now living and did ſee how Antichriſt is eſtabliſhed upon one, they would more gladly returne to the firſt order of many equalls, for the avoyding of that moſt horrible miſchiefe. As they then did for the avoyding of Schiſmes appoint every Citie one

Negligence is no more in two then one, abilitie of well doing things is more in two then in one. And ſickneſſe being ſo rife in this Citie, it is as much as two can well doe, and one may be ſicke. And one may willfully and ſuddenly leave his flocke. *To the 7. Yea, but though he did ſo then, hee will not doe ſo now I Warrant you.*

Wherefore two be neceſſary, elſe in the ſuddaine ſickneſſe of one onely Miniſter, when many other be ſicke alſo, due viſitation of the ſicke is not well ſeene to, and preaching omitted, as it hath chanced in our Church, yea, and although wee have many. And therefore reaſon telleth us that it is expedient to have two rather then one.

*Horne, &c. Upon the 8. Artic.*

Item, where it is propounded that the Miniſters ſhall by themſelves or their deputies diſcharge the Sermons and other their duties when neceſſary caſe ſhall ſo require: wee ſay it is ſuperfluous, for a neceſſary cauſe needeth not to be provided for by law: beſides that the allowing of deputies by law made for that purpoſe openeth a window of negligence to the Miniſters in the executing of their office.

*Whitehead, &c.*

A law doth well provide that ſuch may bee in a readineſſe which ſhall ſerve in neceſſitie, it is provided in many Cities, by a law that in dread of fire every man have a bucket of water at his dore, which is a thing neceſſary. And univerſally the

multitude of good lawes be grounded upon cauſes neceſſary. Wherefore we thinke that poſition, that neceſſary cauſes need not to be provided for by a law, ought to be taken for no law: and where it is alleadged that it openeth a window of negligence to the Miniſters, it is not ſo, for the appointment of thoſe deputies appertaineth more to the Seniors then to the Miniſters by our diſcipline.

*Horne, &c. Artic.* 10.

Item, in the Article of Catechiſme, we think it is ſuperfluous and tedious to have two Catechiſmes in one afternoone; and alſo thinke that Maſter *Calvins* Catechiſme ought to be uſed no otherwiſe with us than it is in *Calvins* Church that alloweth and uſeth the ſame.

*Whitehead, &c.*

The firſt Catechiſme is onely ordered for the children, and is but an examination and appoſing of them. The other is not onely for children, but for all the Congregation, &c.

Now, for ſo much as the Reaſons and Anſwers are very long, and yet ſome of them repeated in Maſter *Hornes* Objections to the diſcipline which he offered up to the Magiſtrate, I will here paſſe them over and come to the ſaid Objections, and the anſwers of the Church to the ſame.

Horne *and the reſt of his ſide to the Magiſtrate.*

We come to that now (right honorable *S.*) which we were charged to doe by your commandement and appointment: that for as much as for the appeaſing, and finall putting away of the contention betweene us and our brethren, we ſhould ſhew why we diſſent from them, and cannot proceede in the ſame paſſage and way that they doe: wee ſhall ſo open unto you our defence and cauſe even as we deſire to be juſtified both in our conſciences and before God. Howbeit we are very ſorry that your Honours hath limited us ſo ſhort time, ſo as in a cauſe which (for the weightineſſe and difficulty of it) ought to be debated upon with more leaſure, and very many things to be weighed to and fro, wee muſt of force in a manner hold our peace and ſay nothing.

But

But our truſt is that your H. will hereafter, remedy this diſpleaſure in granting us longer time that we may more amply hereafter confirme our cauſe, which we are forced to ſet forth naked, and without any defence at all, which we will moſt gladly doe, and deſire thet we may freely be permitted to doe. This is the thing that we often ſought for when we conſulted among our brethren for the correcting and amending of our diſcipline, that, as long as the matter and cauſe was in conſultation, wee might ſo long polliſh & finiſh more at large that was alleadged, to adde unto all our ſentences, before the ſentences brought in, and to ſtrike out, and take away, from them if ought ſeemed worthy to be taken away, albeit any thing were put in, as firme and eſtabliſhed by our ſubſcription: which thing wee now eftſoones deſire moſt earneſtly at your Honours hands, that for as much as nothing is yet concluded and determined by your Honours, there be no ſuch prejudice objected unto our cauſe, but that we may confirme all our allegations with firme and availeable arguments.

And indeed, ſeeing we muſt now intreate in order of thoſe things which we reprehend and condemne in our brethrens made Diſcipline: This we firſt reprehend univerſally, that any other alteration or innovation of things ſhould be in our affaires, then ſuch as ſerve onely to the correcting and amending of that diſcipline which hath beene heretofore received and uſed in our Church. Wherein, wee will ſeeme alſo ſomewhat to ſatisfie our brethrens curious mindes. This we ſay, becauſe there is almoſt nothing that we thinke is to be innovated with ſuch poſt haſte, and indeede there are many and weightie cauſes which doe altogether pull us backe from theſe innovations, and bid us ſticke ſtill toour old diſcipline, and not for the pleaſure of ſome men, and contrary alſo to your commandement (given for the amending and not for the making of any new Diſcipline) to contemne and caſt away that which ſo many have allowed.

Whithead *and the reſt of that ſide anſwer in this Wiſe.*

Wee had purpoſed (right honourable and righteous Magiſtrates) as we alſo ſignified unto your honours, to have made

no

no anſwer at all unto theſe unbrotherly reproaches of Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers*, for they are the onely Authors thereof, in as much as they be unworthy to be anſwered unto, ſeeing they have no ſure grounds, but bare aſſertions onely, which are as eaſily denyed as affirmed. And beſides that Maſter *Horne* ſaid openly in the hearing of all his complices, before Maſter *Bartue*, Doctor *Cox* and Doctor *Sands*, arbitrers, appointed by your authority, that he was not deſirous that we ſhould anſwer, wherein indeed, he was not altogether a foole. For he knew well enough how fond geare he had written, and would beare away this brag the while, not as though we would not, but could not anſwer ſo light accuſations. Which petite brag (Wherein he ſo much delighteth) wee would have beene content to have ſpared him, had not your authoritie who thought it meet for us in any wiſe to make anſwer) come betweene: And in caſe Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* ſhall reade ſome things here in our anſwer that they would not, let them remember that they have driven us to it, in that they have bluſtred out in writing ſo unworthy matters (and that ſo falſely) of ſuch a multitude of their baniſhed country men. For they (forgetting all humanitie and good manners) object before the Magiſtrate (and that often) povertie to a great many of ours now in exile as a moſt high reproach. What then? Are they baniſhed and poore willingly, or perforce? Were they not and might they not (if they ſet more by goods then godlineſſe) be richer? And whence have wee this povertie which yee Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* caſt ſo taunтingly in their teeth? And whence have you this plenty whereby you looke ſo high againſt your brethren? Surely you ought to have adviſed your ſelfe, ſeeing you carry the common purſe, before yee had ſo raſhly and ſo undiſcreetly publiſhed theſe words unto the right honorable Magiſtrate, with the reproach of your ſelfe, and of your country men. Indeed we would have ſuffered theſe (as common reproaches) to be buried in perpetuall ſilence, if it ſeemed not otherwiſe meete to the right honorable Magiſtrate (whoſe authoritie we obeying as it becommeth us) ſhall anſwer particularly unto all the particular Chapters of your aſſertions.

To

*To the Preface.*

WHere Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* deſire licence to ſay and unſay, to put to and take from, to ſubſcribe, and revoke, to doe, and undoe all, as they thinke good themſelves, they ſeeme to require their owne right: for they deſire no other then they have beene uſed hitherto to doe, as it is moſt evidently knowne almoſt to all the whole Congregation; notwithſtanding this (albeit) it is againſt S. *Pauls* rule, who denyeth it to be his propertie to ſay yea and nay, neither have we any more marvell, that the ſame Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* thinke the old Diſcipline is to be retained ſtill as a thing that both hath permitted them free libertie to doe yet hitherto what they would at their owne pleaſure, and ſheweth no way how to amend thoſe matters that they have done amiſſe a great while. And yet becauſe wee have provided by the authoritie both of the Magiſtrate and of the Congregation that the like ſhall not happen hereafter, they accuſe us of innovation forſooth. Where they make cavillation about diſcipline to be amended and not to be new made, and accuſe us as though we have done againſt the Magiſtrates commandement: Wee anſwer that all occaſions of our old controverſies were taken away by the Magiſtrates Commandement the laſt of February; but the old Diſcipline, as a thing not perfect nor indifferent hath beene the ſpeciall cauſe of our controverſies indeed: Therefore we affirme that it was taken away by that commandement and power given to the Congregation to make another, as it is declared in the plaine words of the ſame commandement: Furthermore, for as much as we have kept ſtill the greateſt part of the old diſcipline which ſeemed indifferent, as it appeareth evidently in the booke of our diſcipline, let them call it (ſeeing it ſo pleaſeth them) the amending of the old diſcipline, in as much as to amend, is nothing elſe than to correct that which is amiſſe, to put out that is evill, and to put in that is wanting.

Therefore whether they call it our new made diſcipline or the old amended, wee will not ſtrive with them about that matter, ſeeing we give them leave to ſpeake at their pleaſure.

Onely we declare that we have done nothing againſt the magiſtrates commandement in that behalfe.

*Objection to the title of the Diſcipline.*

*Horne.* IN the title and entrance unto their Diſcipline we reprove this as plaine falſe, in that they ſay the booke of their diſcipline was collected by 15. men appointed to doe the ſame by the Congregation and the authoritie of the Magiſtrate, and ſo exhibited afterward unto our Congregation by the ſame 15. men. For it was both collected before the matter was committed unto them and confirmed before hand by many mens hands ſubſcribed.

*Yet old blind father* Lidford *being an almes man, was forced by th B. of L. to ſubſcribe to the booke of prayer, among others more blind then he. Whitehead.*

Touching the 42. which approved this diſcipline and confirmed it by ſubſcribing, this we may alleadge, there are 24. of them which live of other mens liberalitie and almes, ſo as they may ſeeme rather to follow other mens wills and to be inclined to their pleaſures: eſpecially ſeeing ſo large and ample promiſes as well to live at libertie as to have their ſlender living relieved, have beene made to this intent.

Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* deny the booke of diſcipline to be collected by the 15. men, becauſe they being appointed of the 15. have laboured by all meanes that nothing ſhould be done for the ſetting of the Congregation at a quiet ſtay. And when they perceived that they could not hinder it, they came not with the reſt the two laſt dayes according to appointment, ſo as by that meanes ſome of the juſt number of 15. men ſhould be wanting, was not the book therefore both lawfully collected and lawfully exhibited to the Congregation becauſe 2. or 3. of the appointed men withdraw themſelves againſt right and equitie? What ſhould be determined in any affaires, if the matter ſhould tarry, till altogether (not one except) ſhould agree throughly in all points? Where they ſay the booke was collected before this matter was committed to the 15. men is it a plaine ſlander. Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* might be juſtly aſhamed to taſt povertie in our brethrens teeth now in exile (and that before the Magiſtrate) and to lie ſo openly, that 24. of our company that ſubſcribed live of other mens almes. And if ſo many poore men have forſaken Maſter purſe-bearer *Chambers*, is it not a plaine matter that they have beene evill

intreated

increased at *Chambers* hand before time? But where they gather that the poore men ſeeme to have followed other mens minds in ſubſcribing to the Diſcipline, rather then their owne: it is fondly gathered, in as much as on the contrary part it is moſt true, that they which (were they poore men) followed not *Chambers* when he ran away with the bagge, regarded their conſcience more then the living, forſomuch as both they and all other might be certainly aſſured that they ſhould moſt grievouſly offend not onely the purſe-bearer *Chambers*, but alſo two or three other of the richer ſort of our Congregation. But how much more juſtly might we returne this accuſation (which they falſely bend againſt ours) upon Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* and many other of their number which have followed *Chambers* in running away from the Congregation, becauſe he carried and ſhewed them a well ſtuffed pouch, as it were a ſtandard to follow, for neither Maſter *Chambers* nor Maſter *Horne* durſt ever have departed from the Congregation as they have done but upon truſt of the pouch, which the one hath alwayes borne, and the other hath beene ever an unſeparable waiter upon, whereſoever it were carried: and yet in the meane while, this gay fellow *Horne*, from aloft contemneth ſo great a company of his country men, as beggers and caitives in compariſon of himſelfe.

But in caſe there be ſo many among us that live of other mens almes, as Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* doe reaſon. And ſeeing Maſter *Chambers* tooke upon him eſpecially at the intreaty of Maſter *Horne*, the charge of gathering godly mens almes publikely in the name of the Church, for the reliefe of the poore of our Congregation, as it is already knowne unto many, and ſhall hereafter by the whole matter ſeverally ſet forth, be moſt evidently knowne to more, what mercie and pitty is this of theirs towards their brethren, to leave ſo many miſerable people behind them, contrary to their promiſe made to the Congregation, and to runne away not onely from the Congregation, but alſo out of the Citie, ſnapping away the bagge with them (which conteineth many more almes gathered for the poore in the name of the Congregation, and ſo leave them all deſtitute, and alſo to leave certaine Preachers

appointed by them (which have ſerved the Church a yeare and more, and to whom they promiſed that they ſhould lacke nothing) in a great deale of debt to other men for their neceſſary board?

And where they play ſuch prankes, they caſt our brethren in the teeth ſtill with povertie, by the way of reproach before the Magiſtrate. Let them goe too therefore, ſeeing their pleaſure is ſuch, and number their owne company, and leave out their ſervants, their boyes, and ſuch as depend upon *Chambers* purſe (for he hath made it his owne, and dedicated it to his owne propertie) and let them tell us then, how many there be left on their part, if they be not aſhamed to tell how many they be: Where we did comfort our poore brethren to our power whom *Chambers* running away with the bag, had made aſtoniſhed, & would have had them utterly diſcouraged, they lay it to our charge as evill done, what is their manifeſt declaration elſe but that the poore of our Congregation ſhould be utterly deſtitute not onely of reliefe but alſo of all hope of reliefe which hath ever beene the uttermoſt comfort of ſuch as be in miſery.

*In the Diſcipline it ſelfe an objection.*

*Horne.* The next thing now wherein we agree not, is, that which is ſpoken of the 2. new Miniſters. This they treat upon in the 7. Article. This we defend, that the Scripture doth leane and incline rather unto one than unto two, which one, as he muſt not be above the reſt by Lordſhip, ſo yet ought hee to bee above other in charge and in burthen, in as much as hee muſt needs give a greater account, then the reſt for the flocke committed unto him and to his charge. This we are able to prove. Firſt, by the circumſtances of the places of Scriptures conſidered; ſecondly, by the interpretations of ancient fathers, and the beſt learned men of our times or latter dayes. Thirdly, in the examples of the Churches inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and moſt holy men after their time; fourthly, this new order of 2. Miniſters or more hath beene (as all the wiſeſt men have alwayes reaſoned) the ſeeds and fountaines of all diſſention and contentions. And like as for order ſake, and for conſervation of the Churches in peace, our Elders thought, that one ſhould neceſſarily bee above

above the reſt: ſo alſo in this our remembrance, the greateſt learned men, as *Calvin*, *Bremius*, and many other doe thinke. Of theſe matters the beſt inſtituted and reformed Churches in Germany can alſo be the beſt witneſſes. Theſe we profeſſe that we both can and will more largely ſhew, as farther occaſion ſhall hereafter ſerve, which we cannot doe now, for that we be limitted to ſo ſhort a time.

*The Anſwer.*

As concerning the two Miniſters of the Word. We affirme that it is lawfull by the Word of God to have either two, or more. *Whitehead.*

Where theſe men ſay the Scriptures doe leane rather to one, that is to affirme only, and to prove nothing, whereas *Paul* almoſt in all his Epiſtles writeth alwayes as unto more of equall authority in every Church, and not as unto one principall. Where they alleadge the ancient Doctors; *Jerome*, which is the moſt diligent in Hiſtory matters, reporteth moſt plainly that in the beginning there were many, and afterward, for the avoiding of diſſentions, the chiefe authority was committed nnto one as the chiefe. But yet ſaith he, that was done rather by the Statute of men, then by the authority of God. Where they ſpeake ſo much of the miſchiſe of contention in the Church, we confeſſe it is a great evill: But that tyranny is a more peſtiferous deſtruction to the Church, and that tyranny crept into the Church by one, the Biſhop of Rome, may teach us at large. Therefore for as much as both wayes, either by one, or by more, evils may happen, we thought good to beware more diligently of the greater evill. Where they bring in *Calvin* for one, we marvell with what face they can doe that, ſeeing it is out of all doubt, that he upon one day, and in one houre inſtituted two Miniſters of equall authority in all things in the Engliſh congregation which is at Geneva. And alſo ſeeing that in the eighth Chapter, and 42. and 52. diviſions of his Chriſtian Inſtitution, he declareth openly that there were from the beginning more Miniſters of the word of equall authority in the Church of Chriſt. Where they alleadge the examples of the Churches of Germany, we alſo want not examples of the Dutch Church at Emden, wherein there be 3. Min. of

the word of equall authority. And of the French Church of this Citie, and of the English Church of Geneva, yea and *Calvin* himſelfe is counted ſuperior to his fellowes not by authoritie of office, but in reſpect of his learning and merits. Therefore in as much as it is alſo permitted unto us by the Magiſtrates appointment, to chuſe one or more: let them leave their wrangling for a thing indifferent, as though it were for life and land. Where they profeſſe that they will make large proofe of this matter at leaſure, let them profeſſe theſe gay glorious promiſes ſo long as they will, ſo they know the longer they labour in this matter, ſo much leſſe ſhall they both ſhew and bring to paſſe.

*The objection to the 8. Article.*

*Horne.* In the 8. Article Miniſters commit and aſſigne the burthen and cure (wherewith they are charged) unto others with overmuch facilitie. We demand alſo this, which appeareth not plainely enough in their Diſcipline, to whom pertaineth it to allow their allegations and excuſes, when they will leave their charges unto others.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whitehead.* What inhumanitie is it not to be content, that the Miniſters of the word (upon weighty cauſes, as ſickneſſe or urgent buſineſſe of importance) ſhould bee eaſed of their burthens? as though they that finde fault at this now, permitted not the ſame to themſelves before, rough againſt others, and overfavourable to themſelves.

And where they demand unto whom it perteineth to allow their lawfull cauſes, we wonder that they neither read joyntly in the ſame place the name of Seniors, to whom the matter is committed, nor remember that generall point in the 36. article, that the government of the whole Church is committed to the Miniſters and Seniors.

*The objection to the 18. Article.*

*Horne.* We allow the tranſlating of bookes. But that ſo open a law ſhould be made for that matter, that is the thing we finde fault with.

with. For it both conteineth that which is a peſtilent matter to our Congregation, by meanes of danger of ſuch as are wont to travaile as ſtrangers up hither unto us out of England, as alſo it may be reprehended in that it ſeemeth to ſmell and tend openly to the private commoditie of ſome men.

*The anſwer.*

Where it is ſignified that certaine bookes, godly and fit either to inſtruct, or comfort our countrey men in this calamitie of ours and of our country, ſhould be tranſlated into our tongue, then the which there can be nothing more profitable or neceſſary, they ſay it is a peſtilent matter forſooth, becauſe it is ſo openly mentioned: as though by ſpeaking nothing, it might be perſwaded that we doe nothing here but ſleepe, for where they adde touching the private commoditie of ſome in ſo common a profit, we cannot gueſſe what that meaneth, in as much as all men that have in theſe miſerable dayes, yet hitherto cauſed bookes to be ſet forth in our tongue, have rather loſt then wonne by them. *Whitehead.*

*The objection to the 16. Article.*

In the 16. Article the cuſtodie of the treaſure of the Church pertaineth not neceſſarily to the Deacons by the word of God. And at this day many reformed Churches doe not obſerve it, and moreover it ſeemeth more profitable unto our Congregation to have it otherwiſe. Fourthly, the moſt part of the antienteſt Churches keepe a plaine other cuſtome. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

If they be able to ſhew ſo plaine a place in all the whole Scripture for any other that ought to have the cuſtody of the treaſure of the Church as is in the 6. of the Acts of the Apoſtles, for the Deacons, we yeeld unto them. Yea, and *Calvin* ſhall yeeld alſo (whoſe name they oftentimes wonderous confidently and falſely alleadge) who in the 8. Chapter of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man in the 55. diviſion, thinketh plainly as we doe, as well concerning the cuſtodie, as the diſtribution of all Church money, and uttereth the ſame in plaine words. In *Whitehead.*

the

the primative Chureh, ſaith he, the Deacons received (even as it was under the Apoſtles) faithfull peoples daily oblations and the yearely revenewes of the Church, to the intent they ſhould beſtow them upon true uſes. Wee deſire them now to ſhew us more plainly, unto what other men that charge doth rather belong then to the Deacons, &c. But they ſay many reformed Churches obſerve not this, and that it will be more profitable for our Congregation to have it otherwiſe: And that the moſt part of the antienteſt Churches keepe ſtill another cuſtome. This (as we ſaid before) is onely to affirme, and prove nothing. But thus they doe almoſt alwayes. But where they ſpeake of the antienteſt Churches, we beleeve they meane the Popiſh Churches, but would not for ſhame utter it; or elſe let them ſhew us what ancient Churches thoſe be, yet this we may not overpaſſe, how that they affirme that it will be profitable for our Church to have it otherwiſe: that is, that one as it is now, have the cuſtody alone, know alone, and diſtribute the Church mony alone, and make accompt alone, and to himſelfe alone. But we are ready to prove either to the Magiſtrate, or to the world (in caſe the Magiſtrate ſo permit it) both by teſtimonies, reaſons, and matters indeed, that this is not onely not profitable, but alſo it hath and is utterly pernitious, and to the plaine undoing of our Church.

*The objection to the* 17. *Article.*

*Horne.* We find fault that the election of the Deacons is not free enough. For the rich men muſt be alwayes taken. Alſo in that they ought to depend upon the will and councell of the Elders, where now a great part of the Elders both live and depend upon the Deacons purſe. Their mouth therefore ſeemeth to bee ſtopped, ſo as they dare never reprove and over-correct the Deacons when they offend.

*The anſwer.*

*Whitehead.* There was never man that was in his right wit which denyed it to be moſt profitable for the Church, to have ſuch men choſen to bee Deacons, as the leaſt ſuſpition can bee had in. Where *Horne* and *Chambers* affirme that a great part of the Elders

Elders live and depend upon the Deacons purſe, it is a plaine ſlanderous report.

But admit there be one or two among them of the poorer ſort that ſhall perhaps have neede now and then of ſome reliefe of the Church money. Do not you (*Horne* and *Chambers*) know that they have beene richer in times paſt, and except they preferred Religion to riches, may be richer when they will? And now as they are become willingly baniſhed men, ſo are they willingly poore men for the ſame Religion ſake that yee will ſeeme to profeſſe? Wherefore then had ye rather enviouſly to reprehend povertie in ſuch a one, then gently to commend ſo great a vertue, but that yee are driven hereto by griefe of your ſtomacks through malice. What? doth *Paul* require wealth in Elders (as ye doe) or vertue? Go too, and ſhew us out of *Paul* that this your purſe wealth is ſo neceſſary in an Elder: We dare affirme that ſuch a one ſhould have beene of more authoritie with *Paul*, as alſo with all men that bee godly, and more worthy to be an Elder by reaſon of his povertie, for the which he is ſo contemned at your hand. But poore Elders dare not (yee muſt underſtand) reprove offending Deacons: doe not you *Horne* and *Chambers* know that in the primitive Church, Biſhops themſelves, had their appointed living out of the treaſure of the Church, which was in the Deacons hands: and yet the Deacons (in caſe they did amiſſe) were nevertheleſſe ſharpely corrected of them? And yet theſe men that require ſuch ruſling rich Elders, would have Deacons of the poorer ſort. But by what example, and by what reaſon? why cannot ye being Chriſtians be content in exile as well with poore Elders as with poore Deacons? we remember that one of you ſaid openly in our hearing, and in the hearing of many other that you could not with your conſcience be under ſuch miniſters, and ſuch Seniors as our Church hath now choſen. If ye can finde no other fault in them then wilfull povertie, the congregation alſo cannot repent them yet of the Miniſters and Seniors whom they have choſen: & as for this pure conſcience of yours we paſſe not for it. But we think if wealth be reſpected in any that is in Eccleſiaſticall Miniſtery, it is to be reſpected chiefly in Deacons, that they meddle with the Church mony without ſiniſter

ſuſpition. Indeed about foure months paſt, yee had Deacons, ſurely honeſt men we ſay not nay, but yet ſuch as for their ſlender abilitie yee made ſuch underlings, that yee brought not onely the honeſt good men but alſo the miniſtery of Deacons (to the great injury of the Apoſtles ordinance) into very much contempt. And in caſe we have thought good to bewere (by all meanes) of that evill, yee ought not to have beene grieved at it, but rather to have rejoyced in the Churches behalfe. But herein there is one great ſinne, that this is not done by you, but rather againſt your minds, ſeeing ye thinke nothing to be right, nor any thing to ſtand in force unleſſe it proceed of you.

*Horne.* *If* Calvin *be ſo in your judgment I hope you will allow his two Letters before.*

*The Objection againſt the* 18. *Article.*

The Miniſters ſhall be privie how much mony there is, but not how it is beſtowed. This is againſt the cuſtome of the ancienteſt and beſt inſtituted Churches, and contrary to the judgment and minde of the greateſt learned men that bee in theſe dayes, as *Calvin* and others, which as they permit the diſtribution unto the Deacons, even ſo, will they have it done at the arbitrement and appointment of the Elders.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* The Miniſters (ſay they) ſhall be privie how much mony there is, but not how it is beſtowed. Where finde you in our Booke theſe words: (but not how it is beſtowed:) And yet when he hath added it, of his owne, Lord, how he triumpheth here of the cuſtome of the moſt ancienteſt Churches, of the mindes of the greateſt learned men, namely, Maſter *Calvin*, &c. In this matter the man truely ſeemeth not to have wanted ſpace and time whereof he had too much, to wrie ſo fond vanities, but that he lacked his eye ſight, and ſome what elſe beſides.

*The objection againſt the* 19. *Article.*

*Horne.* Albeit they would cover the matter, yet by making of Laws, they make all openly knowne, for they diſcloſe thus much, that we ſend out our gatherers to bring other mens liberalitie unto us: which thing ſhall bring great danger to many, in as much as the enemies of our Religion will eaſily conjecture from whom

whom this ſo great liberalitie commeth.

*The Anſwer.*

There is a great foreſight in theſe men that they can repre- *Whithead*
hend that thing in us, which they themſelves have done now already theſe three yeares, but it is well knowne that hey ſend out their gatherers, no more than it is, that we be at *Frankford*. And then hee addeth that the enemies may eaſily conjecture from whom this ſo great liberalitie commeth. Wee wonder what he meaneth, or how much it is that he calleth ſo great. Doth *Chambers* at unawares meane the greatneſſe of his purſe? For as for us we have yet hitherto ſent out no body to gather, much leſſe have we received any thing by any gatherer.

*The Objection againſt the* 21. *Article.*

We wote not what they meane by the Schoole, but how ſo *Horne.*
ever the matter is, it ſhall annoy us very much, if they build up ſo many things with ſo ſolemne a profeſſion, and ſhall bring our adverſaries into ſuch a ſuſpition, that we receive much more of other men then commeth to our hands in deed. And this ſhall come of it, that very many ſhall for our ſakes be moſt ſtraitely handled and examined.

*The Anſwer.*

What if two or three Papiſts lift to lie, that we receive many *Whithead*
thouſands, ſhall this breed great danger to us and others, and ſhall many be moſt ſtraitely handled and examined therefore? They may faine danger out of every thing if they will. But hee thinketh it would not be knowne that here are Students, Lectures, and Diſputations, if wee had ſpoken nothing of the Schoole in our Diſcipline. For it was not knowne that there was a Colledge of Students at *Zurick* before. It is a world to ſee how circumſpect theſe men be in words, when they are minded to ſpeake any thing againſt this our foolish ſimplicitie. For what madneſſe is it, to thinke that thoſe things which be every day open before mens eyes are the more knowne, by one ſentence written in a Booke which very few ſhall looke in.

*The objection to the 22. 23. and 24. Article.*

*Horne.* The ſhamefaſtneſſe of many, is unſhamefaſt enough, and to be often diligently examined. And we thinke it neceſſary that nothing be done in this behalfe without conſent of the Elders, who as they beſt know the ſtate of every man, ſo they can and ought to make an exhortation at the diſtributing, apt and fit for every mans diſpoſition.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whitehead.* The ſhamefaſtneſſe of ſome is almoſt ſo farre attempted of ſome ſhameleſſe men, that their heart is cleane caſt downe. For theſe diſcreet diſpoſers of other mens almes, have by paſſing too much on mony utterly caſt away men, yea, both together, the mony and men. And yet in the meane while, theſe that without all ſhame, reaſon of ſhamefaſtneſſe forſooth, whom rather then thoſe that have any ſpark of honeſt ſhamefaſtnes left, would go unto, they had rather almoſt die, yea theſe gentle and ſhamefaſt diſpoſers have with their odious behaviour driven many men of notable good wits and towardneſſe, ſome to the printing houſe, ſome to be ſerving men, and to runne into England againe, with the perill both of body and ſoule. But of this caſe of evill handlings, we ſhall commence matter againſt theſe men (if God will) and the Magiſtrate give us leave, to the intent that good men may bee the more wary henceforth that they commit not their liberall almes ſo eaſily to any one mans fidelitie hereafter.

*The objection againſt the 26. Article.*

*Horne.* The law ordeined for thoſe that travell by the way ſhall call unto us all ſuch as be the moſt idle perſons, and the verieſt unthrifts, and alſo Papiſts which faine themſelves to be Religious, that they may be holpen, as we have learned by experience.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whitehead.* The travelour of our nation having need by the way to bee holpen on his journey (if the treaſure of the Church will beare it)

it) pleaſe not theſe men. They ſay, they have learned by experience that idle perſons and unthrifts, and alſo Papiſts are called hither by this meanes. By what experience, we beſeech you? before this law was made or ſithence? if they were called hither before this law was made, they were not called by occaſion of this law. Let them ceaſe therefore to impute unto a Law, that provideth onely for thoſe that be godly and needy, thoſe things that naughtie packes have ever hitherto done, and will doe ſtill hereafter.

*The objection to the 27. Article.*

It is not an almes, but a compulſion. Beſides this, of theſe that are found to be the ſetters forth of theſe lawes, there are not paſt 17. or 18. which have competent enough to live upon, and to ſuſtaine themſelves. And of them there would not onely five give heretofore, when collections were made, and the ſumme of all their diſtributions came never to 13. Dollers, they gave ſo ſparingly and ſo ſlenderly. And perhaps there is ſomewhat herein to keepe backe and fray away all ſuch as be of the richer ſort from us, that they came not hither, when they ſhall ſee ſo few rich dwell among ſo many poore, which nevertheleſſe ſhall be compelled to ſuſtaine and beare very great charges at ſundry contributions. *Horne.*

*The anſwer.*

It is not a compulſion, but an almes. For no man is conſtrained otherwiſe then his owne good will and abilitie is, and that that is of good will is no compulſion. And there ſhall no man of the richer ſort (that is godly) be frayed away from us by this meanes, in as much as ſuch as be godly ſeeke of their owne accord, whom they may doe good unto. And where they object unto us againe the ſmall number of ours, which have competent enough to live upon themſelves, theſe ſhould be ſome men of mightie abilitie that would have the Magiſtrate perſwaded, that other are but beggers in compariſon of them. Paradventure *Horne*, which is the deviſer hereof, is admitted under hand into the fellowſhip of the purſe with *Chambers*, and thereof it commeth his ſo great ſwelling, ſuch loftineſſe *Whitehead.*

neſſe, and contempt of others: And where hee addeth that there were but five that gave at the collections before time, and the ſumme of that they gave, came ſcarce to thirteene Dollers, it is a matter worthy to be knowne: for about an halfe yeare paſt and more, when *Horne* and *Chambers* had given warning openly for certaine things that they were offended at, we wote not what, that they would give over their Eccleſiaſticall Miniſteries, which is no noveltie for them to doe now; afterward they went about to gather every mans almes, to the intent they might ſeeme at their departure from their Miniſteries like good husbands of other mens liberalitie to have left ſomething unto the Church. But ſeeing they gathered to this end, and it was perfectly knowne to all men that their gathering was for this cauſe, certainely we marvell that there was ſo much as one that would give any thing, or that the ſumme which they gave growed to ſo much as thirteene, not Sallers but Hallers or Pennings. But *Chambers* and *Horne* were not ſo evill knowne at that time: now if they liſt to aſſaie, they ſhall perceive, that there is not one that will put them in truſt with ſo much as a mite. And yet ſince they departed from the Congregation, there hath beene more given (by the grace of God) unto the poore, then *Horne* and *Chambers* have given of their own all the dayes of their life.

*The Objection againſt the 29. Article.*

*Horne.* This Law hath theſe commodities: that firſt, it diſcloſeth the thing overmuch, that thoſe which were wont to be liberall unto us, are moſt deſirous to keepe cloſe; ſecondly, it is prejudiciall to private men which have felt many mens private beneficence: thirdly, it nippeth and thwiteth away a great deale of that liberalitie, which might come to us, in that we ſo appoint a ſtrange collecture, and unknowne to the givers: fourthly, it doth wondrous ſuſpitiouſly import the infamy of certaine that have uſed theſe labours: fifthly, it ſhall ſtrike a feare and terror unto the giver when he muſt ſee ſo many hands ſubſcribed to publike Letters, and by this reaſon they ſhall be eloigned from us that would gladly ſuccour the poore: ſixthly, it ſhall be exceeding hurtfull to other Congregations, and a

losse to all other banished men whersoever they be dispersed. Finally, these so openly ordained Lawes shall signifie unto our Queene, that we nourish and sustaine our Congregation by her subjects. And that shall of necessitie cause, that they which were wont to give us some-what shall be most diligently sought out to their undoing and our most pestilent plague.

*The Answer.*

Here is manifold finding of fault, as in a matter of most weighty importance, and wherewith Master *Horne*, and Master *Chambers* are wonderfully rubbed on the gall. But passing over the first member as vaine, and mingled with others, we will first speake of the second. If this be to the prejudice of private men, what have you Master *Horne*, and Master *Chambers* done, which now a great while have by your messengers and letters stopped all the private Almes of all men, and drawne them into your owne hands? And that you Master *Horne*, threatned out of the Pulpit that you would do, and that you would make poore miserable men to eate Hay. Where they speake of an unknowne Collectour, we answer, that the lesse he shall be commonly knowne, the lesse danger shall he cause to them that he shall have to doe with all. For those Collectors of yours, are now by this your diligence in gathering (would to God yee were as liberall in distributing) and by these your close and most discreete meanes, so knowne, that no man dare bid them God speed, much lesse talke with them. *Whitehead*

Therefore it is wonderous fine, that Master *Horne* hath forged here concerning an unknowne Collectour; where he saith that a feare and a terror shall be stricken into such as shall see many names subscribed, we understand not how that can be. It seemeth he would say, that our Messengers names subscribed. Furthermore, we demanded of *Chambers* and *Horne*, why they have done the same now these three yeares, and compelled men to subscribe against their wills. In them this is a godly matter, in us an horrible abomination. *A small fault in these dayes.*

Where he saith, that this will be exceeding hurtfull to other Congregations, certainely, it hath beene almost an undoing, both to our Congregation and others, that Master *Horne* and

and Maſter *Chambers* have in this behalfe done it hitherto; for one while they ſay, they have gathered alonely for this Congregation: when any body of another Church (ye muſt underſtand) crave ought of them. An other while they boaſt that they have a great deale for other Congregations, that is, when they be offended with us, as they are now moſt greviouſly. For now (we beleeve) they will ſay plainely they have nothing for our poore, therefore though they ſpeake it not, yet they ſhew openly by their deeds that they have all to themſelves, and keepe all to themſelves. Where he ſaith, the Queene ſhall underſtand by this meanes, that our Congregations are nouriſhed by her ſubjects: how ſo? Do we name Engliſh men, or univerſally all good men, by whoſe liberalitie the poore of our Congregation be nouriſhed? But the Queene will ſuſpect ſomething of her ſubjects. O fine witty men: She ſuſpected nothing forſooth before we wrote this diſcipline. That, that he hath in the fourth place ſet as it were, in the middle ranke in ſafetie, we ſaw not: therefore, we will ſpeake of it laſt. But this is the grievous matter of all, and that which alone tormenteth theſe men indeed, for other cauſes are pretended, but this is the very thing whence (as the man ſaith) commeth all this anguiſh and anger to, forſooth it will be ſuſpected (ſaith he) if ſome other collect in the name of the Congregation, that we like not *Chambers* collection, nor *Hornes* and his deſtribution. Hereof will all theſe weightie diſcommodities grow, that they two (ye muſt underſtand) may not be in ſo great authoritie with all men, nor be ſuch buggards to the poore if they may not beare the bagge alone. O grievous and intollerable evills that will grow of theſe ſuſpitions. Indeede they make an end of all this place with plaine tragicall termes: this geare (ſaith he) ſhall cauſe undoing, and a moſt peſtilent plague unto the Congregation.

We wonder that he cried not out alſo: O heaven, O earth, O *Neptunes* ſeas, but where they feare themſelves ſo much of ſuſpitions, we beleeve, they may be out of peradventure in a while. For all men will within a ſhort time (as farre as wee ſee) give over to ſuſpect what manner of men *Horne* and *Chambers* be. Finally, what fault ſoever they finde with us in all this adoe

adoe touching the meſſager to be ſent, they themſelves have utterly forced us by extremity and violence to attempt it. For ſeeing *Chambers* would give nothing being preſent, but unto certaine of his owne, and is now runne away with the purſe, we are utterly conſtrained to take this way, that our poore periſh not for famine.

*The objection againſt the* 30. *Article.*

This is amiſſe, that the Deacons are bounden to viſite the poore onely, to know if they neede: ſeeing it is chiefly required that they may exhort, that they may comfort, that they may relieve ſuch conſciences as be ſicke and burthened with ſinnes. A man may aske them where it appeareth by plaine words of the Scriptures, that it is the Deacons office, to receive and keepe the treaſures of the Church, and that they alone ought to execute and accompliſh this office. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

Let the Deacons viſite all ſicke folke univerſally if they will, and exhort them and comfort them; we forbid them not; onely we ſhew that they are bounden by reaſon of their office peculiary to have charge of the poore. Where they ſay it is chiefely required that Deacons ſhould exhort and comfort the ſicke conſciences of them that are diſeaſed: If they ſay they be bound to doe that by reaſon of their office, let them prove it, that they doe not onely ſay all things. But if they reſpect Chriſtian pittie towards their brethren, neither doe we exempt from the Deacons, that which is the common duty of all Chriſtians. But for as much as they have burthened the Deacons before, with unneceſſary charges as concerning the office of Deacons, by reaſon whereof they frayed many from that right godly office of Deacons, we have thought good to declare what things they be which properly appertaine to the Deaconſhip, and what be the common duties of all Chriſtians. And leaſt theſe men might juſtly complaine as touching the lake of exhorting and comforting the ſicke, that matter is ſufficiently proved for by the Miniſters of the Word, unto whom that charge doth chiefly appertaine, and by other learned men alſo. *Whithead*

And to that queſtion that they harpe upon againe, it is throughly anſwered in the 4. Article, in that they require plaine words of Scripture of us we cannot marvell enough, ſeeing they neither prove or ſhew any thing, either by plaine words, or obſcure words, but as though we were Schollers, and they Schoolemaſters of *Pithagoras* rule, they onely ſay and affirme all things, and confirme nothing. But they promiſe they will doe it at leaſure and God before. And that is enough we trow.

*The objection againſt the* 38. *Article.*

*Horne.* The time is ill appointed, it were a great deale better after the Mart, for the avoiding of rumor, and blowing of diſſentions which may ariſe, as it is now in example.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* The time is appointed well enough. For theſe diſſentions are not to be imputed to times, but to men. And we truſt that we ſhall by the grace of God have henceforth good men that ſhall quietly govern the Church in the true feare of God, and love to their brethren.

*The objection againſt the* 44. *Article.*

*Horne.* The 44. Article ſpeaketh manifeſtly againſt the Edict of the Senate. For there it is ſpecified by theſe cleare and manifeſt words. Furthermore the Senate of this honorable city hath decreed, that if there ariſe any diſſention or contentions among the ſtrangers, concerning Religion or their Diſcipline, they be ſet at one with all diligence by the Miniſters and Seniors ſpecially for this cauſe, leaſt thoſe which profeſſe themſelves to be baniſhed men out of their country for true Religion ſake, utter an evill token what their minde is, by reaſon of ſuch controverſies and debates. And in caſe the matter cannot be appeaſed before the Miniſters and Elders, let them know that the Senate of this citie will take order therein, who as reaſon is, will looke moſt ſharpely upon the Authors of ſuch troubles.

*The*

*The Anſwer.*

It is not againſt the meaning of the Edict, as it was declared by the Magiſtrates themſelves in our Church before all the Congregation the laſt of *February*, by the mouth of Maſter *Valeran Polaine*, and the ſaid Magiſtrates, ſeeing the ſentence pronounced by the ſaid Maſter *Valeran*, and written out by us, allowed it, according whereunto, this decree is altogether ſet forth. *Whithead*

*The objection againſt the 46. Article.*

This Law doth not ſufficiently foreſee and provide for the quietneſſe of the Congregation, unleſſe in this greater part, the Paſtor and Seniors be included, whoſe authoritie men ought not to bring into ſuch contempt that we would ſo eaſily reject them. The multitude is of their owne diſpoſition, overmuch licentious and grudging as every Superiour power, and this Law is alſo againſt the Edict of the Senate. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

If the Miniſters and Elders will be preſent no man warneth them: if they will not, who will force them againſt their wills? It is impertinent that he ſaith, they be eaſily reject, which will not come when they be deſired, or when they be deſired, or when they be preſent, depart upon their owne will. Where hee ſaith, that this decree is alſo contrary to the Edict of the Senate, it is not enough, except he prove it. *Whithead*

*The Objection againſt the 49. Article.*

The ſubſcribing is over-hardly and conſtrainedly done, ſpecially in ſo often alteration and innovation of Lawes, as they ſpeake of. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

The ſubſcribing is not over-hardly, nor conſtrainedly done, but ſo much the leſſe hardly and conſtrainedly, in that there is an eaſie way ſhewed to redreſſe if any thing be done amiſſe: where theſe men would have their decrees be repu- *Whithead*

ted for holy ſacred canons which may not be moved. And as for this ſubſcribing, which they ſay is ſo conſtrained and hard, beſides that it is provided for by the edict of the Senate, it is required alſo in their old diſcipline and inſtitution.

*The objection againſt the 54. Article.*

*Horne.* The authoritie of the Paſtor and Seniors is all wiped away. For every thing is referred to the confuſed multitude of the Congregation.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* Except the matter be uſed as wee have provided in the Diſcipline, both the authoritie and libertie of the Congregation is wiped away, and a meere tyranny eſtabliſhed. Where he ſaith all things is referred to the confuſed multitude, it is manifeſtly falſe. For it is alwayes added by ſuch as the Congregation ſhall appoint thereto, as it is alſo in the 54. Article added in plaine words.

*The objection againſt the 57. Article.*

*Horne.* This Law is alſo contrary to the edict of the Senate.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* This ſhould not be ſaid but ſhewed.

*The objection againſt the 58. Article.*

*Horne.* The Aſſembly of 4. 6. 8. or 10. is troublouſly done, and without order, and will ſtirre up new tumults daily in the Congregation. Such Lawes as this condemne the authoritie and counſell of the Elders.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* *Horne* and *Chambers* condemne the aſſembly of 4. 6. 8. or 10. men for peace making: Where they have almoſt every day theſe three moneths gathered corner creeping aſſemblies to diſturbe the peace of the Church.

*The*

*The objection againſt the 59. Article.*

The 59. Article is manifeſtly repugnant againſt the 56. Article. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

The 59. is not repugnant againſt the 56. Article for there is intreated of civill controverſies, and here of others. *Whithead*

*The objection againſt the 63. Article.*

The Law alſo is againſt the edict of the Senate. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

It is not againſt the meaning of the edict, as it is declared in the anſwer to the 15. Article. For it was declared by the right honorable and godly Magiſtrates openly in our Church, that they thought nothing leſſe then to impeach the lawfull authoritie of the Congregation. And except the Congregation which giveth authority to Miniſters be ſuperior to the Miniſters, they are not now Miniſters, but Lords of the Congregation, as to adde no further. *Whithead*

*The objection to the 68. Article.*

In this place we deſire that our old diſcipline may be looked upon, that we may ſee whether it be to be ſo lightly caſt away, ſeeing it proceeded of ſo learned men, and ſhall with a meane amending be farre perfecter then this new Diſcipline. *Horne.*

*The Anſwer.*

Where they deſire that the old Diſcipline may bee looked upon, we anſwer, the more they ſhall looke upon it, the more evidently ſhall the naughtineſſe and imperfection of it appeare. And it ſhall alſo more plainely appeare how much the Congregation hath beene beholding to them that have receiued ſuch an unperfect diſcipline ſo long in the Church, onely becauſe it permitteth all to the Paſtor. Where they ſay that the diſcipline proceeded of ſo learned men, yet the ſame that wrote it (were they never ſo well learned) confeſſe themſelves both that it was *Whithead*

gathered in haſt, and given to the Congregation as imperfect, onely for a time. Where they ſpeake of the amending of that Diſcipline, wee marveile that it never came into their minde before.

*The objection againſt the 72. Article.*

*Horne.* That concerning teſtaments in this dangerous world is a pernitious Law.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* We cannot tell what ſerpent the Law concerning Teſtaments hath lurking under the herbe. They ſay it is a pernitious Law, and they onely ſay ſo; But we ſay it is very wholſome, and profitable againſt the fraud of falſaries, and to the ſuccours of the fatherleſſe and widdowes.

*The objection againſt the 73. Article.*

*Horne.* Quietneſſe is not ſufficiently provided for by this meanes in as much as it is commanded (as it were) that every one ſhould looke and ſtudy for an innovation.

*The Anſwer.*

*Whithead* Quietneſſe is provided for ſufficiently, in as much as the matter muſt paſſe quietly and peaceably, and alſo by writings mens conſciences are alſo neceſſarily provided for, that in caſe any thing be found in the Eccleſiaſticall ordinances ungodly or diſagreeing, or elſe unprofitable for the Church, it may be changed ſtraight wayes, ſo as mens pleaſures be not holden for holy, ſacred, and unmoveable, as the Papiſts would.

*The objectours concluſion.*

*Horne.* In all this adoe, we ſay this for a concluſion, that there bee three things which they onely ſeeke, the innovation of Miniſters, a purſe and treaſure, I wot not what, and the purging of their owne offences before committed.

Now have we alleadged as much as wee handſomely could bring, conſidering the time. Wee would alſo have alleadged very many other things, ſo as it ſhould plainely appeare, that our

our brethren have in ordeining their Diſcipline reſpected neither ſo great weightie reaſons, nor ſo great commodities of our Congregation. But have in the meane while given that, that ſhall be offenſive and ſlanderous to all good men, and to our adverſaries and Gods enemies, the Papiſts high rejoycing and pleaſure. The booke of the old diſcipline with a very little and ſmall correction and amending would ceaſe many more plentifull fruits of Chriſtian hearts to be brought forth, and would ſettle a great deale more conſtant and more durable quietneſſe among us.

*The anſwer to the concluſion.*

In all this adoe, Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* goe about nothing elſe but to diſquiet the Congregation, that *Horne* might rule the roſt over all: *Chambers* beare the bagge alone, and they two together exerciſe a moſt unworthy Lordſhip over the poore, and by them all other, and that they might have no certaine diſcipline, but that their pleaſures might be holden for lawes, and that nothing ſhould be thought right or ſtand in force but what they doe, yet hitherto, and the ſame they goe about now: And it ſeemeth they have utterly determined either to eſtabliſh a tyranny, or to leave no common wealth at all in the Congregation. Where *Horne* and *Chambers* make rehearſall here of the purging of offences committed by us, they ought juſtly to have beene aſhamed to make mention of offences, ſeeing they have never left for theſe three or foure moneths to lade themſelves with wicked doings. And as for occaſion of offence and ſlander given to good and godly men, and to our adverſaries and Gods enemies, the Papiſts high rejoycing and pleaſure, they accuſe us thereof ſo falſly, as they themſelves have given the occaſion indeed. *Whitehead*

For they could never abide to have any thing amended, nor themſelves to be admoniſhed of any thing, or to be communed withall in any wiſe. But for the moſt light, yea no cauſes indeed, they forſooke their miniſtery ſtraight wayes, the Paſtour forſooke the flocke, the Treaſurer the poore, and both forſooke the Church, and moved others by their example to doe the ſame.

Neither

Neither was it enough for them to give over their owne functions, but they muſt draw other Preachers and readers with them alſo, to the intent the Congregation ſhould by this meanes be deſtitute of Gods Word, and utterly ſcattered as though it could not poſſibly ſtand without them. And when they had forſaken their own Church, they haunted, partly the French Church, and partly the Dutch Churches, & ſo raiſed rumors abroad, and ſpred our diſſentions firſt, through this Citie, and then thorough other Cities of Germany. And laſt of all, when they would not come to the Church in the Mart time, but by the Magiſtrates commandement, neither could they then be quiet, they ſpread the like rumours almoſt throughout all Europe.

*Then I hope it may be now ſpred againe without offence, all things well weyed.*

And when they have played theſe prankes themſelves, they charge us with their owne faults, and goe about to lay the infamy upon us which they themſelves have ſtirred up. If you ſhall cry out that old matters are rehearſed by this meanes, you ought to have abſtained from provoking us hereunto: neither to have mentioned offences committed, old ſubſcriptions, ne, yet to have called us backe thus to the old diſcipline, the fountaine of all contentions.

*The names ſubſcribed to the objections with a poſtſcript.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Robert Horne.* | *Richard Chambers.* | *Anthony Mahew.* |
| *Edward Iſaac.* | *Chriſtopher Brickbeck.* | *Richard Davids.* |
| *Cutbert Warcope.* | *John Binkes.* | *Nicholas Caruc.* |
| *Robert Harrington.* | *John Eſcot.* | *John Machet.* |

*Horne.* The reſt of our conſenting brethren wee could not call together unto this ſubſcribing, by reaſon of ſhortneſſe of time, whoſe names ſhall bee put afterwards, having your licences thereto.

*The Anſwer to the poſtſcript.*

*Whithead* Where they complaine of ſhortneſſe of time in the end, as they did in the beginning, and that they could not by reaſon thereof call their conſenting brethren together to the ſubſcribing: What meaneth that? For where they have ſet to the names of them which dwell moſt farre aſunder, and have left out almoſt none but the names of their owne ſervants, whom they

they have alwayes at a becke, yet they could not call the reſt of their brethren together forſooth, to the intent they might by this ſhift make a ſhew to ſuch as know not the matter, of ſome multitude of men of ſome eſtimation which are left out. And they deſire alſo as in a matter of weight that they may ſet to the names of the other afterwards. And as here in the end, they vaunt a certaine ſhew of ſome great multitude that will ſubſcribe: Even ſo, in the beginning, and in many other places of their book they make a great brag as though they would exhibit ſome notable matter to the Magiſtrate, ſo they may have time enough given them to bethinke themſelves. But Maſter *Horne* and Maſter *Chambers* ſhall with theſe their mightie and great promiſes both of ſubſcriptions, declarations and confirmations, bring to paſſe as good as nothing. But yet this they are deſirous to bring to paſſe in the mean time, that whiles theſe gay glorious promiſes of theirs be looked for, they may a long time hinder the peace and quietneſſe of the Church which their onely deſire is to have diſquieted. And if it be poſſible that they may recover a moſt intollerable Lordſhip over the Congregation, or in caſe they cannot obtaine the chiefe ſtate in the Congregation, that they may leave the Church in the worſt, or in no ſtate at all, but that they may rend it, and all to ſcatrer it. Theſe be the deviſes of *Horne* and *Chambers*. Theſe bee their fetches, right honorable and moſt righteous Magiſtrates. And yet wee have no diſtruſt but Almightie God for his mercies ſake towards our moſt afflicted Church, and that your authoritie for your equities ſake and ſingular benevolence towards us, will withſtand the ſame.

And for as much as we have proved that one of theſe things which they have reprehended in our diſcipline, be other againſt Gods Word, or againſt good reaſon: and for as much alſo as we are ready to prove, that all things conteined in our diſcipline, are taken out either of Gods Word or of the edict of the Senate and Magiſtrate, either out of their owne old diſcipline which they ſticke ſo faſt unto, either elſe of the judgement of good reaſon, we humbly beſeech the right honorable and righteous Magiſtrates that they will vouchſafe to confirme it with their authoritie.

Whereas both parts gave conſent that certaine others, very worſhipfull, ſhould alſo deale in this controverſie betweene them, to appeaſe (if it might be) the ſame, I have here following placed the order which they tooke for their quietneſſe.

*To the Miniſtery and body of the Congregation of the Engliſt Church of Franckford.*

FOr as much as at the requeſt of all our brethren and eountry men of this Church of *Franckeford*, we have undertaken to endeavour our ſelves to make an end of this ſorrowfull controverſie which ſo grievouſly, ſo long time hath vexed this Congregation, ſlandered Religion, and infamed the name of Engliſhmen, we thought we could neither ſatisfie the dutie of Chriſtian charitie, nor the office of loving country men, if wee did omit any thing, which by any probable conjecture might ſeeme to bring to effect our honeſt enterpriſe in this behalfe, whereupon we have thought good to offer unto you our brethren on both parties ſuch a forme of agreement touching certaine points of your diſcipline as had ſeemed unto us upon conference, betweene certaine choſen perſons, on both ſides before us moſt convenient, ſo to ſatisfie all men, that every man might willingly and cheerefully ſubmit himſelfe unto the obedience thereof. Deſiring you all as yee hope to have favour at Gods hands in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo to apply your favourable mindes each to other, that all ſtrife and contention ſet apart, you may joyne together in a bleſſed Chriſtian and happy ſocietie, peace and concord, and the thing whereunto we wiſh both the parties ſhould agree as followeth.

*The forme of reconciliation.*

Firſt, whereas in this whole treatie of reconciliation and alteration of diſcipline, ſome things might happen to ſeeme to tende to the condemnation of ſome partie or perſon: wee doe all freely pronounce and teſtifie each part of other, that neither of us doe condemne either partie, or any perſon as thoſe which have done any thing contrary to Gods word, or probabilitie of reaſon in this matter of diſcipline, but friendly and lovingly,

every

every man doth imbrace all men, omitting all rehearſall and diſputation of things paſt, with common and heartie prayer unto God, that from hence forth we may remaine, and live together in brotherly love to the glory of God, & comfort of us all.

Concerning the article for exercise of learning, that there be no mention made of the ſame in the booke of diſcipline, but that for ſo much as learned men remaine in the Congregation, that the Miniſtery ſhall for the furtherance of learning, labour to put in ure ſuch exercise of learning as the learned can performe, and the abilitie of the Church beare.

Concerning the receiving and diſtributing of the treaſure of the Church. The receiving and diſtributing thereof, doth appertaine to the Deacons, yet not ſo that they doe it without the knowledge and conſent of the Miniſters and Seniors; concerning the keeping of the ſaid treaſure, it may very well apperteine to the Deacons, yet is it not of ſuch neceſſitie but that the reſt of the Miniſtery may otherwiſe ſet order for the cuſtodie thereof, as time and occaſion ſhall ſerve. 2.

Concerning the Article of Contribution, when the treaſure of the Church faileth, it pertaineth to the Miniſters and Deacons to travell by the way of exhortation with the rich to helpe in that neede without any further compulſion. 3.

Concerning the Article of ſending of common letters for the reliefe of the Congregation: That there be no mention made of any part thereof in the booke of diſcipline, but that the miniſtery with all poſſible ſecrecie uſe ſuch pollicies and meanes as may beſt ſerve to the reliefe and maintenance of the Congregation. 4.

Concerning the Article of making of lawes, that they bee made by the miniſtery and body of the Congregation being called together for that purpoſe. And if the Miniſtery, or any of them refuſe to be preſent being by the body of the Congregation required thereunto, without juſt cauſe by them or him alleadged, that then after a due time given for the hearing of the cauſe, if they bring not in good reaſon and juſt cauſe of ſuch refuſall · then to be deprived by the ſame from theirs or his Miniſtery, and new to be choſen. 5.

Concerning the Article of the election of Miniſters, that a 6.

ſcrutenie be had every yeare at the time of election for the examination of the Miniſters of the word, wherein ſhall be by the appointment of the Congregation ſix or eight grave and wiſe men which ſhall heare what faults bee alleadged againſt the ſame Miniſter, and if the faults be weightie and worthy of open correction, to ſignifie the ſame to the Congregation, that the offenders or offender may be corrected or deprived accordingly. If the offences be leſſer then that they ought to be publiſhed, then the ſaid Miniſters or Miniſter offending, to be moniſhed of his fault according to the diſcretion of the Scrutiners.

Concerning the Article of Teſtaments. That no man by order in this Congregation ſhall be forced to Regiſter his Teſtament, but that there be eight or ten grave, wiſe, ſubſtantiall and honeſt men choſen by the Congregation, out of which number the Teſtator ſhall have his choice, or if he omit the thing, his executors ſhall have the choice to take two of the ſaid 8. or 10. beſides ſuch as are made witneſſes, whom the executors within a moneth after the death of the Teſtator ſhall make privie to the Teſtament, and that the ſame two, being required thereunto, ſhall faithfully declare unto every partie comprehended in the will, ſo much of the will as ſhall particularly appertaine to every of them, and ſhall keepe ſecret all the reſt of the will or Teſtament as they ſhall proteſt before God and the Congregation upon their conſciences, at the time of their election.

And now in caſe it ſhall ſeeme good unto all your wiſedomes as well of the Miniſtery and body of the Congregation of the one part, as of the diſſenting brethren of the other part, that we ſhall by our mediation proceed any further according unto this forme of reconciliation, which is here deſcribed: We doe heartily require you, that ſignifying your mindes unto us with as convenient ſpeed as ye may, ye will alſo appoint out on either part, two diſcreet and ſober perſons, lovers of peace and concord, which by conference with other two of us, whom we ſhall appoint, may draw theſe Articles afore written into ſuch a forme as they may be conveniently annexed to the reſt of your diſcipline. The 29. September 1556.

*Your loving brethren and*
*countreymen.*

*Thomas*

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|---|---|---|
| *Thomas Wroth.* | *Henry Knollis.* | *Edwin Sands.* |
| *Frances Knollis.* | *John Browne.* | *Thomas Eaton.* |
| *Roger Parker.* | *Fran. Wilford.* | *Richard Springham.* |
| *John Abell.* | *John Turner.* | |

*The Answer of the Church to this offer, or the effect of the same.*

We cannot allow this way of reconciliation offered to our Church by our Country men, for as much as we should condemne our selves as evill doers, and our doings ungodly and unreasonable, but we are assured we have not done in our discipline, any thing contrary to Gods Word and good Reason, The last of *Septemb.*

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|---|---|---|
| *David Whitehead.* | *Henry Parry.* | *William Rawlinges.* |
| *John Hales.* | *Richard Beesly.* | *Robert Besse.* |
| *Thomas Sorby.* | *Robert Crowley.* | *Richard Luddington.* |
| *John Pedder.* | *Thomas Watts.* | *Edmond Harles.* |
| *Thomas Ashley.* | *Richard Rogers.* | |

## The copie of the Letters of request sent forth for reliefe of the poore by Mr. *Sutton*, 25. *July* 1557.

*To all them that beare an unfained Reverence and zeale unto the eternall Testament of Jesus Christ, joyned with the Charitable and sincere bowells of mercy towards the poore. Grace, Mercy and Peace from God the Father by the same our Lord Jesus Christ his Sonne the common and onely Saviour of the World.*

IT is not like that the brute of the controversie, which hath now at the end of six moneths continued in this English Churh at *Franckford*, is unknowne to strangers: it is more like that so many being privie thereto, it is carried and spread too farre abroad: and most like by the fruits springing thereof, that it hath beene untruly reported by the wilfull authors and stubborne mainteiners of it, not onely to the infamy, reproach, and discredit of the body of this Church, and to the intent to stop all reliefe from the poore members of the same, but also that their uncharitable and lewde behaviours should not come to

light. For it is well knowne that divers charitable men (albeit their perſons and names be neither knowne nor deſired to bee knowne) were before the beginning of this controverſie very liberall in ſending their charitie to the uſe of this whole Congregation univerſally, and ſome were beneficiall to ſundry members of the ſame particularly, which ſith that time to our knowledge they have left undone utterly. We the Miniſters of the Church, hoping that theſe men, the authors and maintainers of this controverſie, would in time have knowne their faults and made ſatisfaction to the Church as it becommeth Chriſtian men to doe, did not onely with patience ſuffer their ſlanderous talke and unquiet demeanour, but alſo beare with their unjuſt dealing, and as much as in us lay ſtudied to cover their faultie doings. Nevertheleſſe, ſeeing no likelihood of their amendment, but moſt manifeſt proofes of their malice, this poore Congregation, rather daily encreaſing then in any part abating, and thereby the povertie thereof continually augmenting, wee thought it our bounden dutie in conſcience, no longer to hide the matter, but thus of neceſſitie conſtrained, to diſcloſe it, ſo as ſeeing they will not be as they ought to be, they may at leaſt be knowne as they be. And thus wee doe not for any malice that we beare to any mans perſon (as God the ſearcher of all hearts knoweth) but that the truth being knowne, ſuch good people as through untrue report, have beene perſwaded to withdraw their good minds and favour from this poore Congregation might underſtand that without juſt cauſe they have ſo long done it, and hereafter bee the more willing to renew their charitie in the relieving of this poore Church of Chriſt. And to come to the matter, ye ſhall underſtand that after Maſter *Horne*, late Paſtor and Seniors that were joyned in the Miniſtery with him had by a writing ſubſcribed with their owne hands, openly before the Congregation ſurrendred and given over their offices, receiving nevertheleſſe the writing of their ſurrender in their owne hands, and yet being deſired by the Congregation not to leave their Miniſteries, but ſtill to exerciſe the ſame: they in no wiſe would doe it, whereby the Church was divers dayes deſtitute of the preaching of Gods Word. Whereupon the more part of the Congregation minding to

have the Church kept in good order and to redreſſe thoſe things that were a great occaſion of the former contention, ſo that after, there might be a perpetuall quietneſſe and concord among us, went earneſtly about the ſame. But it hapned contrary to our expectation, the former grudges continuing, and new buſineſſe daily increaſing, which at length came to the Magiſtrates eare, contrary to our mindes and determination. For when we thought that it ſhould without any further brute, amongſt our ſelves, have bin pacified and ended as we would to God it had beene. Whereupon the godly Magiſtrates lamenting much our diſſention, and deſiring our quietneſſe, came into our Church, and there, firſt made us to promiſe one to another, that from thence forth no mention ſhould be made of any former grudge or contention betweene us, but that all things paſt ſhould be cleane forgotten. Afterward, for the better continuance of love among us, and good order in the Church, with the conſent of Maſter *Horne*, the Paſtor and the Seniors diſcharged him and them of their offices, and willed the Church to chuſe new Miniſters, and to make a new diſcipline (for by reaſon of the unperfitneſſe of the old Diſciplme a great part of the former controverſie was) as if there had beene never any Church here before. Whereupon the Church divers times aſſembling, at length, the moſt part of the Church thought moſt reaſonable, that amongſt other, an Order ſhould be in this Church, like as it was in the Primative Church, and is now in all well reformed Churches, that the treaſure ſhould be in the cuſtody of all the Deacons, and not of any one man alone. Maſter *Horne*, with certaine of the Seniors, and a few others would in no wiſe agree unto it, but to their uttermoſt reſiſt it, which gave us occaſion of further juſt ſuſpition, that the treaſure of the Church in time paſt had not beene Chriſtianly uſed.

And whereas alſo we had deviſed another Order, that for ſo much as the Magiſtrate doth permit us to uſe the cuſtomes and manners of making of Wills that be uſed in England, that for the more ſuretie of our friends that were here, or elſe where, if we were diſpoſed by our wills to give unto them any of that little ſubſtance that God hath left us, (if wee ſhould die here)

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our wills ſhould be ſeene and exemplified by the Seniors, and ſo to be out of all danger of counterfeiting at any time: *Horne*, and *Chambers* onely upon fond will, without any juſt conſideration, or good reaſon cavilled againſt the ſame Order, onely affirming it to be pernitious. Theſe things we finde manifeſtly at length, not to proceede of any good minde or purpoſe, but of contentious frowardneſſe grounded upon ſelfe-love, and gaine, that under a colour of the Church they might gather good mens devotions, and never diſtribute any penny thereof, or at the leaſt, to none, (had they never ſo great neede) unleſſe they would, either fawne, and hang on them, or elſe ſuſtaine uncharitable taunts and reproaches at their hands.

For where *Chambers* above 18. moneths paſt had of Maſter *Whithead* then Paſtor, and the Seniors then a letter to receive of one ſpeciall man twentie pounds, and beſides, through *Hornes* procurement, a genenall proxie to *Chambers*, and his deputie, to gather the devotion of good men for the reliefe of this poore Congregation, which by their owne proceedings here before the Magiſtrates, (their owne hands writing teſtifying the ſame) and otherwiſe by our knowledge we are certaine, they did put in practiſe, and received much thereby, yet *Chambers* upon the account here left behinde him, neither confeſſeth that he received the ſaid twenty pounds, nor yet any other ſumme, neither hath he diſtributed (during all the time he was in office yet to this day) in this Congregation, to any one perſon (ſaving to three Schollers that came with him) one penny, that he did not receive here in this Congregation and citie.

And yet, at his departure hence, he left two of the ſaid Schollers (unto whom nevertheleſſe he promiſed ſufficient proviſion and finding, and never warned them to the contrary) in debt for their boord, and forothe r neceſſaries, almoſt 20. Guilders, which this poore Congregation was forced to pay. Finally, where good Miſtris *Wilkinſon* of bleſſed memory, put *Horne* & *Chambers* in truſt with the deviſing and making of her Will, whereby ſhe gave to this and other poore Congregations of the poore baniſhed Engliſh men, a Chriſtian liberall reliefe; albeit they have cauſed ſome of the ſaid Congregations to be paid of the ſame bequeſt; yet hitherto would they not

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make this poore Congregation privie to the ſumme bequeathed unto it, much leſſe pay it, nor yet (according to the order of our Churches diſcipline aforeſaid) let the will be ſeene, ſo as the friendleſſe young Gentlewoman her daughter ſhould not be defrauded of her right, nor her mothers Will altered to her loſſe. Furthermore, M. *Chambers* underſtanding that we were minded (according to our duties) to require an account of him, for the uſe of his Proxie, getteth him ſuddenly hence, (accompanied with M. *Horne*) earely in a morning, without the conſent or leave taking of the Congregation, or the Miniſtery thereof, and contrary to his owne openly made promiſe, that he would not depart, till he had anſwered all that any man could charge him with.

And at his going away, he left behinde him an account, which by cutting out the leaves, and new written, ſeemeth not to be now at the laſt as it was at the firſt, albeit it was never ſo perfect as Chriſtian fidelitie would have required it to be. And moreover, albeit we have twiſe written unto him, charitably exhorting and requiring him to come hither, and diſcharge himſelfe of thoſe things that ſhall be ſaid unto him in the behalfe of this Congregation, and to the intent he ſhould reſtore unto it, the proxie he received, and no longer by himſelfe or his deputy exerciſe it in the name of this poore Church, as we are informed he doth: he neither commeth, nor yet maketh anſwer to our letters, whereby we cannot but thinke that he meaneth not onely craft and ſubtilty (much unworthy the integritie and fidelity that he pretendeth) but alſo, to hinder, and as much as in him lieth, to undoe this poore Congregation, not onely of that he hath already received and carried away, (as he hath heretofore dealt with the company of poore Students at *Zuricke*) but alſo, through untrue reports of all good mens devotions and liberality that hereafter would elſe be beſtowed. Their reports (which among many other untruthes to hinder this poore Congregation they ſlanderouſly brute abroad) are chiefely theſe: firſt, that the poore of this Church be ſo well provided for, that the worſt hath after the rate of two ſhillings by the weeke: ſecondly, that ſome of the poore here be ſo ſtout, that they diſdaine to aske reliefe in their neede, ſo that

our poore ſeeme either not to neede or not to be worthy of helpe. And thirdly, that men here ſeeke to know the names of the givers to this Congregation to their great perill and utter undoing, which reports be all utterly untrue, but the truth is, that for lacke, many poore men have beene driven both to depart hence, to ſeeke their living in other places, and ſome forced to goe for reliefe into England. Theſe ſpecialties, beſides much more that we have thought good and very neceſſary, that good godly men ſhould know, both that they ſhould not conceive any evill opinion of this Congregation by falſe report, and alſo, that minding to relieve the poore and miſerably afflicted members of Chriſt their brethren in this Church, they ſhould when God ſhall move them to depart with any thing to that uſe, ſo deliver it, as it may ſafely come, and juſtly be deſtributed, where they would have it beſtowed. And therefore wee, (conſidering the ſtate of our fellow exiles living here with us in neede and povertie, and fed by the onely good providence of God) deſire all Chriſtian men for the love of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt to conſider, how pleaſant a ſacrifice, how ſweet a Savour the relieving of the poore for his ſake is before the face of our heavenly father. A good mans life, is almoſt nothing elſe then a continuall exerciſe of mercie. All the day long hee hath mercy and pitty, ſaith the Prophet *David*.

Give almes of thy goods (ſaith the holy man *Tobiah*) and turne never thy face from the poore: and ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that the face of the Lord ſhall not be turned away from thee. Be mercifull after thy power, if thou haſt much, give plentiouſly: if thou haſt little, doe thy diligence gladly to give of that little, for ſo gathereſt thou thy ſelfe a good reward in the day of neceſſitie, for almes delivereth from death, and ſuffereth not the ſoule to come in darkeneſſe. A great comfort is almes before the high God, unto all them that doe it.

Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poore (ſaith the Prophet *David*) The Lord ſhall deliver him in the time of trouble, &c. The good man (ſaith *David*) hath diſtributed abroad, and given to the poore, his righteouſneſſe remaineth for ever: his horne ſhall be exalted with honour, he that giveth to the poore,

ſhall

ſhall not lacke, ſaith the Wiſe man in the Proverbs. As water quencheth burning fire, ſo doth mercy reconcile ſinnes, which God ſhall reward and not forget, and the doer ſhall find a ſtay to keepe him up when he falleth, ſaith *Jeſus* the ſonne of *Sirach*. Breake unto the hungry thy bread, ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*, and bring the poore fatherleſſe into thy houſe; when thou ſeeſt the naked, cover him, and hide not thy face from thine owne fleſh; Then ſhall thy light breake forth as the morning, and thy health flouriſh right ſhortly, thy righteouſneſſe ſhall go before thee, & the glory of the Lord ſhall embrace thee; then if thou calleſt, the Lord ſhall anſwer thee; if thou crieſt, he ſhall ſay, here I am. Lay ye not up Treaſures in earth, where the ruſt and the moth may deſtroy it, and theeves may digge it out and ſteale it, ſaith Chriſt, but lay up your treaſures in heaven.

Give almes of that ye have, and behold (ſaith Chriſt) all is cleane unto you. What ye give to one of theſe little ones (ſaith he) ye give it unto me. And alſo he ſaith, bleſſed are the merciſull for they ſhall finde mercy: when the idolatrous King *Nebucadnezar* ſhould be converted unto God, what ſaid the Prophet *Daniel* unto him? redeeme thy ſinnes with almes, and thy wickedneſſe with mercy on the poore, ſo perhaps God will pardon thy ſins. Thinke ye that God forgat *Obadiah* that preſerved the hundred Prophets in caves and fed them there? *Paul* and the other Apoſtles diligently, both with words and writings did labour for the reliefe of the poore brethren that were at *Jeruſalem* and elſewhere.

And we hope that God will open your hearts and mindes to conſider our ſtate, and by theſe ſayings and examples move you to have pitty on your poore brethren, which if it ſhall pleaſe his mercy to grant you cheerefully to doe, it is not to be doubted, but albeit he ſuffer you to ſlide and fall for a time, yet will he heave you up (when it ſhall be his good pleaſure) and preſerve you, ſo as at the length ye may be partakers of the joyfull kingdome of God which our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath purchaſed for his elect with the price of his blood, the holy Spirit of God be alwayes with you *Amen*.

This controverſie which you have now heard from the 13.

of *January* hitherto. I finde written by the hands of ſuch as are both learned and of credit, but yet I muſt needs ſay, by thoſe that were parties in this broyle. And for ſo much as Maſter *Chambers* in this controverſie is very ſore charged among the reſt: who yet, was thought of many wiſe and godly men, to be very godly, upright, and honeſt, and ſo no doubt he tooke his leave of this life. I have therefore here thought good to place a letter which is yet of his owne hands to be ſeene, writing the ſame in his owne defence touching theſe matters, ſo as the Reader weighing both the one and the other, may uſe his judgement with diſcretion.

## The Copy of the Letter.

*To the Worſhipfull Maſter* John Hales, *Maſter Thomas* Crawley, *Maſter* John Wilford, *and to Maſter* Whitehead, Thomas Sorsby, William Maiſter, *and* John Old *at Frankeford.*

Immanuell.

I Wiſh unto you the peace of God with my commendations. The tenor of your demand hath cauſed me to deferre anſwering to your letters untill this time, not of purpoſe, to give no anſwer, but that I then upon the ſudden wanting ſure knowledge in that thing, whereby you chiefly charge me. At my comming from *Zuricke* to *Frankeford*, I was intreated by certaine men to continue my travells, in gathering the Almes and liberalities of godly men, to relieve therewith ſuch poore diſperſed Engliſh brethren, as I ſhould thinke moſt meete to be relieved, even as before time I had done. This requeſt put in writing, ſubſcribed by certaine, was delivered unto me, not as letters teſtimoniall of authority, which as I needed not, or I required them not, neither yet that I ſhould by force of them gather for the Church of *Frankeford* onely, or eſpecially, which I purpoſe not, but that I might be the rather moved to doe as before I had done. And they then required (which was after promiſe made to further my doings with all faithfull ſecrecie in ſuch ſort as I ſhould from time to time deviſe and require)

to

to beſtow ſuch ſummes of money as ſhould hereafter come to my hands to ſuch uſes and purpoſes as I thought good. Therefore, as by force of thoſe letters I gathered not: So the gathering for *Franckeford* Church hath not been, nor is in may hands, nor of any other at my appointment as ye doe write.

Wherefore as I might, ſo I did, and that by the adviſe of many honeſt, grave, and godly men, depart from thence without making that account, to which I am not bound, nor leaving for the reliefe of the poore, of whom ſuch have had their portion in this bleſſing for the time as I thought meete to bee relieved. Unto the Students whom I never placed there, I have performed whatſoever I promiſed. The account of receipts, paiments and remaines which ye require, I intend not to make unto you. But I ſhall bee ready at all times and in all places to make a juſt account of my whole dealings in this behalfe unto them which have authoritie to demand it of me. In the meane time, as I ſhall by Gods helpe truly doe my indeavour, to relieve the poore as I ſhall have wherewith, and finde them meete to receive it: So ſhall I keepe the names and ſummes ſecret as I am bound, till by them which have juſt authoritie to looſe me, I be otherwiſe appointed.

*Thus I commit you to the grace of Almightie God, from Stranburgh this 20. of June, Anno, 1557. Richard Chambers.*

AFter I had written this anſwer to your firſt Letters, reteining them in my hands untill I might have a convenient Carrier: I received your ſecond letters, the principall matters therein are anſwered before. To the reſt that be any thing materiall, thus I ſay. As touching the delay of mine anſwer you call contempt more uncharitably then truly as unto godly wiſe men is well knowne. As my departure was not, ſo my returne to *Franckford* may not be at your appointment. Your generall accuſations of misbehaviours and contempts in the which you ſay I am faultie, I admit not, if you can juſtly charge mee with perticulars, I ſhall make anſwer, to the contentation of all godly minds.

Where the diſcipline of Chriſt is uſed in juſt cauſes, it is

to be regarded, but your unorderly abuſing of it, and againſt me that am not of your Church, I eſteeme not. If you uſe civill proofes againſt me, I ſhall be as ready to anſwer the Cauſe, as you to enter the Sute. As for your diſplaying of me to our diſperſed brethren to my undeſerved diſpraiſe in this matter cannot be ſuch, but that I ſhall eaſily purge my ſelfe; as God knoweth, who with his holy Spirit mollifie your hearts, and give you the unfained true ſight of your ſelves, *Amen*. From *Strasbrough* the 30. of *June* 1557. *Richard Chambers*.

*Delivered the* 20. *of July to M.* John Hales *by* John Eſcot.

Now, whiles theſe ſharpe and grievons contentions grew more and more at *Frankford* (as you have heard) many things hapned in other places, which may in this place be ſhortly touched, to the glory of God (I hope) and alſo to the great comfort of the godly, who may by the ſame, behold moſt evidently the marvellous providence of God toward his poore afflicted and diſperſed Church.

M. *Coverdale ſent by the Duke of Bypont.*

After that M. *Bartue*, and the Dutches of Sulff. were ſafely arrrived at *Wezell* in *Weſtphalia*, the brute thereof was the cauſe that moe *Engliſh* people in ſhort time reſorted thither. It pleaſed God alſo, that M. *Caverdale* (after that he had beene with the King of *Denmarke*) ſhould come to the ſame towne, who preached there no long time, till he was ſent for by *Woulgange* Duke of *Bypont*, to take the Paſtorall charge of *Bargzaber*, one of his Townes of *Germany*, at whoſe comming to the Duke, he made it knowne, both to himſelfe and to other noble men about him of M. B. and the Dutches being in the Low-countries. They underſtanding, the danger that might come unto them in thoſe parts, as alſo calling to remembrance, what great curteſie ſtrangers had found in England at the Dutches hands; made offer, that if they were forced to remove, or otherwiſe, if it pleaſed them, they ſhould have the Caſtle of *Winchaim* by *Hedleberge* within the liberties of *Otto Henricus* then *Palſgrave* and a godly Prince, who moſt gladly (as well appeared) gave conſent to the ſame. M. *Bartue* and the Dutches accepting this offer, left *Wezell*, and came up to the

the ſaid Caſtle, and there continued, till leaving *Germany* they travelled towards the land of *Pole*. The Congregation that was at *Wezell* wanting among them, partly the comfort which many of them had by M. B. and my L. being there, and partly alſo other reaſonable conſiderations moving them; they left *Wezell* and followed after; but paſſing by *Frankford*, and perceiving the contention to be among them ſo boyling hot, that it ran over on both ſides, and yet no fire quenched: many had ſmall pleaſure to tarry there, but went to *Baſil* and other places, whiles M. *Leaver* made ſute to the Lords of *Berna* for a Church within their Dominions, whoſe letters he obtained with great favour to all their ſubjects for the friendly entertainement of the *Engliſh* Nation. Theſe Letters obtained M. *Leaver*, M. *Boyes*, M. *Wilford*, M. *Pownall*, and *T. Upchaire*, came to *Geneva* to have the advice of that Church, which was beſt to be done touching the election of a new Church. They of *Geneva*, gave God thanks for that it had pleaſed him ſo to incline the hearts of the Lords of *Berna* towards them, and gave incouragement that they ſhould not let ſlip ſo good an occaſion. M. *J. Bodliegh* (who was no ſmall ſtaie, as well to that Church as to others) and *W. Rethe* travelled with them. And paſſing thorough many parts of the L. of B. dominion in *Savoy* and *Switzerland*, they found ſuch favour in all places where they came, as verily may be to the great condemnation of all ſuch Engliſh men as uſe the godly ſtranger (I meane thoſe who come for Religion) ſo uncourteouſly.

*The courteſie of the noble men of Germany to M. Bartue and the D. of Sulſſ.*

M. *Leaver*, and the company at length choſe *Arrow* for their reſting place, where the Congregation lived together in godly quietneſſe among themſelves with great favour of the people, among whom for a time they were planted.

*Engliſh men placed at Arrow.*

Not long after this, Maſter *Horne*, and Maſter *Chambers* came by *Arrow* to *Geneva*, ſeeming at that time to like very well of thoſe Congregations, (as the Church of *Frankeford* alſo then did, as appeareth by their Letters afore) in ſo much as the ſaid Maſter *Horne* and *Chambers*, did diſtribute largely to the neceſſitie of thoſe Churches. So that it appeared that the old grudge which had beene betweene the Church of *Franckeford*, and *Geneva* had beene cleane forgotten.

*Horne & Chambers come to Geneva.*

It

It came to paſſe not many daies after, that the Lord began to ſhew mercy unto England in remooving Queene *Mary* by death, and placing the Queenes Majeſtie that now is (whom God long preſerve) in the ſeate, the newes whereof, as it was joyfull to all ſuch as were in exile; ſo it appeared that the Church of *Geneva* was not behind the reſt, who (after that they had given to God hearty thankes for his great goodneſſe) conſulted among themſelves and concluded, that (for ſo much as there had beene jarres betweene them and other Churches, about the Booke of Common Prayer and ceremonies) it was now expedient and neceſſary not onely that unfained reconciliation ſhould be betweene them, but alſo that they might ſo joyne together in matters of Religion and Ceremonies, that no Papiſt or other enemy ſhould take hold or advantage by a farther diſſention in their owne country, which might ariſe in time to come, if it were not in time foreſeene and prevented. To this end was *William Keth*, one of the Congregation choſen to doe this meſſage, to them of *Arrow*, *Baſill*, *Strasbrough*, *Wormes*, *Franckeford*, &c. And to them of *Arrow* and *Franckeford* this Letter was written which followeth, and ſubſcribed by the Miniſtry in the name of the whole Congregation.

*Keth ſent into Germany & Helnetia.*

## The copie of the Letter written the 15. of December.

*The Father of mercies and God of all conſolation confirme and increaſe you in the love of his Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, that being in the conduit of the Lion of the tribe of Juda, ye may be victorious againſt Sathan and Antichriſt, to the overthrowing of Papiſtry and errour, and eſtabliſhing of Chriſts glorious Kingdome.*

AFter that wee heard (dearely beloved) of the joyfull tidings of Gods favour and grace reſtored unto us by the preferment of the moſt vertuous and gratious Queene *Elizabeth*: We lifted up our hearts and voyces to our heavenly Father, who hath not onely by his due providence nouriſhed us in our baniſhment, preſerved us, and as it were, carried us in his wings

wings, but alſo heard our prayers, granted our requeſts, pitied our country and reſtored his Word, ſo that the greatneſſe of this marvellous benefit overcommeth our judgements and thoughts how to be able worthy to receive it, and to give thanks for the ſame. And when we had with great comfort weighed the matter, to the intent that we might at the leaſt ſhew our ſelves mindfull of this moſt wonderfull and undeſerved grace, we thought among other things how we might beſt ſerve to Gods glory in this work and Vocation of farthering the Goſpell of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. And becauſe all impediments and cavillations of adverſaries might be removed, it ſeemed good to have your godly counſell and brotherly conference herein, which wee deſire to learne by this bearer our loving brother *Rethe*, that we might all joyne hearts and hands together in this great worke, wherein no doubt we ſhall find many adverſaries and ſtaies: yet, if we (whoſe ſufferance and perſecutions are certaine ſignes of our ſound Doctrine) hold faſt together, it is moſt certaine, that the enemies ſhall have leſſe power, offences ſhall ſooner be taken away, and Religion beſt proceed and flouriſh.

For what can the Papiſts wiſh more than that we ſhould diſſent one from another, and inſteed of preaching Jeſus Chriſt and profitable doctrine, to contend one againſt another, either for ſuperfluous Ceremonies, or other like trifles, from the which God of his mercy hath delivered us. Therefore, deare brethren, wee beſeech you (as we doubt not but your godly judgements will thinke it ſo beſt) that whatſoever offence hath beene heretofore, either taken or given: it may ſo ceaſe and be forgotten, that hereafter God lay it not to our charges, if thereby his bleſſed Word ſhould be any thing hindred; and as we for our parts freely remit all offences, and moſt intirely imbrace you our deare brethren; ſo we beſeech you in the Lord, that unfainedly you will doe the like on your behalfe, whereof albeit wee aſſure our ſelves, as both by good experience we have proved, and alſo have received by your Letters, yet to cut off all occaſions from Papiſts and other Cavillers, we thought it beſt to renew the ſame amitie, and to confirme it by theſe our Letters; Moſt earneſtly deſiring you, that we may altogether teach and practiſe that true knowledge of Gods Word, which we have learned in this our baniſhment, and by Gods mercifull providence,

ſeene in the beſt reformed Churches ; that conſidering our negligence in times paſt, and Gods puniſhment for the ſame, we may with zeale and diligence endeavour to recompence it, that God in all our doings may be glorified, our conſciences diſcharged, and the members of Jeſus Chriſt relieved and comforted. The which thing the Lord God who hath mercifully viſited and reſtored us, grant and performe. To whom be all honour, praiſe, and glory for ever and ever.

*Your loving friends, and in the name of the whole Church.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Chriſtopher Goodman.* | *William Williams.* | *John Pullain.* |
| *Miles Coverdale.* | *Anthony Gilby.* | *William Bevoyes.* |
| *John Knoxe.* | *Frances Withers.* | *William Whittingham.* |
| *John Bodliegh.* | *William Fuller.* | |

*The Anſwer returned from* Franckeford *by* W. Rethe.

*The grace of God, and the aſſiſtance of the holy Ghoſt, lighten and ſtrengthen you to the underſtanding and conſtant retaining of his truth, to the furtherance of his honour and glory, and to the edifying and maintenance of his Church in Chriſt Jeſu our Lord.*

DEarely beloved, as your Letters were moſt welcome unto us, both for that ye rejoyce at the preferment of our godly, Queene, and alſo that ye ſtudy how to promote the glory of God: So are we right ſorry that they came not after the departure of ſuch as ye ſeeke a charitable reconciliation withall. For where as ye require that all ſuch offences as have beene given and taken betweene you and us may be forgotten hereafter: there be not here paſt foure left, which were then preſent when ye dwelt here, and not one of the learned ſort ſaving M. *Beeſly*. Yet, we doubt not, but as they promiſed in their former Letters, to forget all diſpleaſures afore conceived, ſo they will performe the ſame, and eſteeme you as their brethren. And for our parts, as we have had no contention with you at all afore time: ſo wee purpoſe not (as wee truſt there ſhall bee no cauſe) to enter into contention with you hereafter: For Ceremonies to contend (where it ſhall lie neither in your hands or ours to appoint what they ſhall be, but in ſuch mens wiſedomes as ſhall be apointed to the deviſing of the ſame, and which ſhall be received by common conſent of the Parliament) it ſhall be to ſmall purpoſe. But we truſt that both true Religion ſhall be reſtored, and that we

ſhall

ſhall not be burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpoſe to ſubmit our ſelves to ſuch orders as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by authoritie, being not of themſelves wicked, ſo we would wiſh you willingly to doe the ſame. For whereas all the reformed Churches differ among themſelves in divers Ceremonies, and yet agree in the unitie of doctrine: we ſee no inconvenience if we uſe ſome Ceremonies divers from them, ſo that we agree in the chiefe points of our Religion, notwithſtanding, if any ſhall be intruded, that ſhall be offenſive, we, upon juſt conference and deliberation upon the ſame at our meeting with you in England (which we truſt by Gods grace will be ſhortly) will brotherly joyne with you to be ſuters for the Reformation and aboliſhing of the ſame. In the meane ſeaſon, let us with one heart and mind call to the Almighty God, that of his infinite mercy, he will finiſh and eſtabliſh that worke that he hath begun in our countrie, and that we may all lovingly conſent together in the earneſt ſetting forth of his truth, that God may be knowne and exalted, and his Church perfectly builded up through Chriſt our Lord.

*From* Franckeford *this* 3. *of January*, 1559.

*Your loving friends in the name of the reſt of the Church.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *James Pilkington.* | *Henry Knolls.* | *John Mullins.* |
| *Frances Wilford.* | *Henry Carow.* | *Alexander Nowell.* |
| *Edmond Iſaac.* | *Richard Beeſley.* | *John Browne.* |
| *John Gray.* | *Chriſt. Brickbate.* | |

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*An Anſwer brought from the Congregation of* Arrow*by* W. Rethe.

*The Father of mercies, and God of all Conſolation confirme, increaſe, and continue you alway in the love of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

PRaiſed be God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which pulled downe *Mary* that did perſecute, and hath ſet up the godly Lady *Elizabeth* Queene of England, to reſtore and maintaine there, the pure preaching of his Word. And for that it hath pleaſed God to move your good hearts, for the furtherance of the ſame, with godly zeale and charitable deſire by your Letters, to ſhew unto us your adviſe and purpoſe, and alſo to require ours to be returned and ſent unto you by our brother *Rethe*: We doe with moſt heartie thanks unfainedly afore God certifie you, that to your counſell and conference with us, we doe conſent willingly

concerning your moſt godly requeſt, for that wee acknowledge that the ſame ſhall be to the advancement of his glory, and quietneſſe of his Church. Alſo we deſire you that as oft as we may finde hereafter any occaſion to conſult and conferre by word or writing, that then both you and we ſo take and ſeeke the ſame as may be moſt to our unitie in minds, and diligence to doe good in the Lords worke. And furthermore for the forgetting and putting away all occaſions of offences, we doe likewiſe conſent unto your good enſample and requeſt; and ſo finally for the preaching or profeſſing of ſincere doctrine ſo as we have ſeene and learned in the beſt reformed Churches, we doe gladly heare your adviſe to be ſo agreeable to our purpoſe, that we beſeech you to pray with us, that you and all we together that be faithfull may continue, proceede, and proſper in godly zeale, charitable concord and earneſt diligence, to honour, to ſerve God, and to comfort and edifie his elect all times and in every place, and eſpecially now in England. O Lord not unto us but unto thy name be honour and praiſe for ever. From *Arrow* this 16. of Jan. 1559.

*Your loving friends of the miniſtery, in the name, and by the conſent of the whole Church.*

*Thomas Leaver.* *Richard Laughorne.*
*Robert Pownall.* *Thomas Turpin.*

NOw when as *W. Reth* was returned to *Geneva* with anſwer from the Congregations and companies, that were diſperſed in ſundry places of *Germany* and *Helvetia*, the Congregation, after that they had rendred their humble thankes to the Magiſtrates for their great goodneſſe towards them prepared themſelves to depart, ſaving certaine which remained behind the reſt, to wit, to finiſh the Bible, and the Pſalmes both in meeter and proſe, which were already begun, at the charges of ſuch as were of moſt abilitie in that Congregation. And with what ſucceſſe thoſe workes were finiſhed (eſpecially the Bible) I muſt leave it to the judgements of the godly learned, who ſhould beſt judge of the ſame.

But if that Bible be ſuch, as no enemy of God could juſtly finde fault with, then may men marvell that ſuch a worke (being ſo profitable) ſhould finde ſo ſmall favour, as not to be printed againe.

If

If it be not faithfully tranſlated, then let it ſtill finde as little favour as it doth becauſe of the inconveniences that a falſe tranſlation brings with it. The Miniſters of *Geneva* in an Epiſtle which they wrote before the new Teſtament, have theſe words.

There is nothing more requiſite to attaine the right and abſolute knowledge of the doctrine of ſalvation, whereby to reſiſt all hereſie and falſehood, then to have the text of the Scriptures faithfully and truly tranſlated, the conſideration whereof moved them with one aſſent (as they ſay in that Epiſtle) to requeſt two of their brethren, to wit, *Calvin* and *Beza*, eſtſoones to peruſe the ſame, notwithſtanding their former travells. *Beza* alſo in his Epiſtle to the Prince of *Condy* and nobles of France, hath theſe words. Seeing then all theſe controverſies muſt be diſcuſſed by Gods Word, I ſuppoſe that this thing ought chiefely to be provided for, that ſeeing all cannot have the knowledge to underſtand the Word of God in theſe peculiar languages, the Hebrew and the Greeke, (which were to be wiſhed) that there ſhould be ſome true and apt tranſlation of the old and new Teſtament made, the which divers have already laboured to bring to paſſe, but yet no man hath hitherto ſufficiently performed it. For the old tranſlation (whoſe ſoever it is) akhough it ought not to be condemned, yet is it found both obſcure unperfect and ſuperfluous, and alſo falſe in many places, to ſpeake nothing of an infinite varietie of the copies. The which text therefore many learned and godly men have laboured to amend, but not with like ſucceſſe. And yet how neceſſary a thing this is, who ſoever ſhall reade thoſe moſt learned writers of the Grecians, and ſhall compare their interpretations (which are many times farre from the purpoſe) with the Hebrew veritie, he ſhall confeſſe it with great ſorrow.

And the ſame evill was not only hurtfull among the Lattin writers, but alſo the ignorance of the Greeke tongue, wherewith many of them were troubled, whiles they did depend of the common tranſlation, they oft times ſeeke a knot in a ruſh (according to the old proverbe) and fell into moſt foule errors. This cauſe therefore hath moved me to compare moſt diligently the diverſitie of copies, and to weigh the ſentences and judgements of the moſt part of the learned men, ſpecially of them that this age hath brought forth, skilfull in the languages, who are more in number doubtleſſe, and better learned then the Church hath

had ſince the time of the Apoſtles, and ſo eaſe them ſomewhat that deſire a more pure interpretation.

And that it might be done with more profit, I have alſo added Annotations, in the which I have alſo compared together the diverſitie of Interpretations, and as much as I could, I have laboured to make plaine and evident the ſence and meaning of all the darke places, &c.

Thus farre *Beza*, by whoſe judgement, and the reſt ye ſee, that to have the holy Scriptures truely and faithfully tranſlated, is a matter of no ſmall importance. Here might I touch a thing perhapps worth the hearing, if hope were of redreſſe, which is, that if the learned were but one halfe ſo earneſt, zealous, and carefull, to ſee that the holy Scriptures in this Realme might be faithfully tranſlated, and truely corrected, as they are many times about matters nothing ſo neceſſary: I would not doubt to ſay that they ſhould doe unto God an excellent peece of ſervice.

For the moſt part of our Engliſh Bibles are ſo ill tranſlated (as the learned report) and ſo falſely printed (as the ſimple may find) that ſuch had neede to be very well acquainted with Scripture, as in many places ſhould get out the true meaning and ſence. And it is high time to looke unto this, conſidering, that in moſt parts of this Realme, preachers ye have none, nor any that can or will preach (very few excepted) ſaving certaine wanderers, amongſt whom (and ſpecially in ſome Shires) are ſuch ruffenly rakehells, and common couzeners permitted and ſuffered, by whoſe preachings, the Word of truth is become odious, in the eyes of the people. Seeing then (I ſay) that in moſt places, the miniſtry doth ſtand and conſiſt of old Popiſh Prieſts, tollerated Readers, and many new made Miniſters, whoſe reading are ſuch, that the people cannot be edified, eſpecially, where one is tollerated to ſerve two or three Churches, and turning their backs to the people. I leave to the conſideration of ſuch (who have to deale in this matter) what great and intollerable miſchiefes may come more and more, (by ſuffering ſuch corrupted Bibles in Churches and elſe where) to the poore ſimple flocke of Chriſt. But now to draw to an end; yee ſee (brethren) by this briefe and ſhort diſcourſe, that the grudge whereupon this diſſention hangeth is paſt the age of a child, and therefore may (without offence I hope) be called an old grudge, which, as it ſeemeth, was never yet throughly healed,

as

as will more and more appeare, as this diſcourſe ſhall be from time to time continued, till it be brought even to this preſent time; which time verily, is ſo extreame, as the like hath rarely beene heard of. For it is come to paſſe, that if any ſhould but with a godly griefe bewaile the imperfections that remaine, and crave for redreſſe: yea, but ſuſpected, or ſhould but by malice of an Athieſt, a Papiſt, or Epicure, be preſented: ſuch are not onely reviled and taunted, ſcoffed at, and termed by theſe odious names of Preciſian, Puritan, contentious, ſedious, rebell, traytor, and what not: but alſo if he come once in preſence of the Biſhops, and ſubſcribe not to whatſoever they will, then, (if he have living) to be deprived, or whether he have living or not, be he learned or unlearned, be he man or woman, halt or blinde, to priſon he muſt, without all redemption.

I will not ſay that (in the meane time) ſuch as are turne-coates, and can change with all Seaſons, ſubſcribing to whatſoever, and can cap it, can cope it, and curry for advantage, that ſuch, I ſay, how ignorant, how vicious, and ungodly ſoever they be, live at their eaſe, in all pleaſure, and in ſome place are thought to be moſt meete men for the Miniſtery. But this I may be bold to affirme, that, although in very deed I neither doe nor dare condemne certaine godly perſons, who of infirmitie, but yet with moſt ſorrowfull and heavie hearts (as hath well arpeared by their moſt lamentable proteſtations with plenty of teares to their Congregations) have yeelded to more than expedient it were they ſhould, (praying the Lord to let them ſee it in time) yet, it may not onely be ſaid, but proved too I truſt, that neither is ſubſcribing alwayes a ſure note of a good ſubject, nor yet the refuſall due proofes of a Rebell.

The greateſt Traitors and Rebells that godly King *Edward* had in the Weſt parts, were Prieſts, and ſuch as had ſubſcribed to the Booke, or whatſoever by Law was then in force, but for all their ſubſcribings, there was no skirmiſh, where ſome of thoſe Subſcribers left not their carkaiſes, in the field, againſt God and their Prince. *Plumtree* and his fellow Prieſts of the North; I doubt not but they were conformable & appliable to all Orders, and never ſtaggered at ſubſcriptions. But for all that, time tried their traiterous hearts.

But in all the ſtirs which have happened either ſithence the

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Queenes Majeſty came to the Crown, or before, I have not heard of ſo much as one (Miniſter or other) that hath lifted up his hand againſt her Majeſty or State, whom it pleaſeth the envious and malicious man to terme preciſian, and puritan in great deſpite and contempt. Indeed this have I found out and learned, that even ſuch as muſt be content, and patiently beare thoſe odious names of Puritan, Preciſian, Traytor, and Rebell, have yet been the men, who moſt faithfully (in their calling) have ſerved the Q. Majeſty & their Country, both within and without the Realme in Garriſon, and in field, hazarding their bodies againſt hargabuze and Canon, when as thoſe who now ſo furiouſly charge them both out of Pulpits, and other places, durſt not, or at leaſt would not in any ſuch ſervice of the Prince and Country be ſeen. For proofe hereof, If you call to remembrance, who hazarded his life with that old, honourable Earle of Bedford, when as he was ſent to ſubdue the Popiſh Rebels of the Weſt, you ſhall finde that none of the Clergy were haſty to take that ſervice in hand, but only old Father *Coverdale*. When moſt likelihood was of danger between the Scots and us, the Preacher to the ſouldiers, was firſt M. *Sampſon*, and afterward M. *Greſhop*, when as the right Honourable Earle of Bedford that now is, had there the charge. The Earle of Warwick at his being in Newhaven, had indeed with him certain Miniſters for a time, but after that the Canon came, and began to roare, and the plague of peſtilence ſo terribly to rage, then (I weene) not a Miniſter there left, but M. *Rethe* alone. And when as meanes were made to have more Miniſters over, to ayde the ſaid *Rethe* (who had ſo much to doe, what with preaching, and viſiting the poore ſick Souldiers which were in no ſmall numbers) there could not be found (as that right Noble Earle can upon his Honour teſtifie) ſo much as one which could be brought to ſo much conformity, as to ſubſcribe to any ſuch ſervice of the Queenes Majeſty.

When Sir *Henry Sidney* had to doe with the Popiſh Rebels of Ireland, Maſter *Chriſtopher Goodman* ſhewed his faithfull diligence in that ſervice. When the Earle of Warwick was ſent to ſubdue the Popiſh Rebels in the North parts, the preachers of the Queens Majeſties Army were *Rethe*, *Temes*, and *Standon*, who offered themſelves in that ſervice voluntarily, without all conſtraint. And thus it is evident, that theſe with a number more, who are now ſo ill thought of, as if they were Traytors and Rebels, have yet been

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ſo far off from being ſeditious, that they have at all times adventured their lives againſt ſeditious perſons and rebels, when as ſuch as now ſo hardly charge them both by word and writing, have been right heartily well content to take their eaſe & reſt at home.

Conſidering then how many wayes we are unjuſtly burthened and brought into hatred without juſt cauſe, I ſuppoſed that no godly man would be offended, if by ſuch lawfull meanes as I might, I ſought both to purge my ſelfe, and the reſt of my brethren, from ſuch heynous and odious crimes as ſome would ſeem to charge us. And that could I not doe ſo well any way, as by the gathering together of this diſcourſe, wherein the indifferent Reader ſhall finde, that the Religion which we hold and profeſſe, is not only the true and ſincere Religion of Chriſt, and the ſelfe-ſame with all the reformed Churches in Chriſtendome, but alſo that which this Realme hath eſtabliſhed, touching the true doctrine commonly taught therein. By this diſcourſe alſo it may be ſeen, both when, where, how, and by whom this controverſie firſt began, who continued it, who was on the ſuffering ſide, and who readieſt to forget and forgive, that godly peace and concord might be had. Now if any ſhall ſeem to be offended with this that I had done, I doe moſt humbly beſeech them, to weigh well, and expend with themſelves, firſt, whether I have given them any ſuch cauſe, if it be for that I have in this diſcourſe brought to light ſome thing that might have beene kept ſecret (the contention being among brethren) to the end the common enemy ſhould not have cauſe to triumph: let this ſuffice them: firſt, that the wicked and common enemy cannot (for his heart) more triumph over the godly then he doth already, and that thoroughout this whole Realme. Againe, the crueltie of *Cain* to *Abell*, of *Iſmael* to *Iſaac*, of *Eſau* to *Jacob*, of the Patriarkes to their brother *Joſeph*, the hot contention betweene *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Paul* and *Peter*, &c. all theſe being knowne to the world, hath turned notwithſtanding to the great glory of God, as my aſſured hope is that even this will alſo in the end.

And therefore, as the Lord of heaven knoweth that the keeping of theſe things almoſt for the ſpace of theſe twentie yeares in ſecret, might ſuffice to witneſſe with me that I had now no great pleaſure to utter it, ſo I wote not how it commeth to paſſe that even in the midſt of great ſtriving, and ſtrugling with my ſelfe

what to doe, I could not be by any meanes reſolved, or ſee juſt cauſe, why I ſhould any longer conceale it.

If any ſhould thinke that I have not with indifferency, penned the ſtory: I referre me (to ſatisfie ſuch) to the judgements and conſciences of thoſe perſons, who were the players of this tragedy (of both parts many yet living) aſſuring my ſelfe that neither part ſhall be able juſtly to charge me, except it be for that in very deed I have ſought rather how to cover many things, then to lay them wide open to the world, as I nothing doubt to prove if I might be but heard indifferently, in ſo much as in this diſcourſe I have (as much as I could) paſſed over the names of all where credit might ſeeme to have beene impaired thereby, ſaving onely of ſuch as were of very neceſſitie to be noted, for the better underſtanding of the Hiſtory.

To conclude, againſt the offences which ſome may take at theſe my travells, I have ſet the great profit that this may bring to Gods Church and to the poſterity, who being taught by other mens harmes (if they be happy) will learne to beware, the hope whereof had greater force to puſh my pen forward to the finiſhing of this worke, then the diſpleaſures of certaine (ariſing ſo farre as I ſee of no ground) could be to withdraw me from the ſame, beſeeching Almighty God ſo ſtrengthen me with his holy Spirit, that what troubles or trialls ſo ever ſhall by the Lords good providence happen to me hereby, he will vouchſafe to give me a contented minde quietly and with patience to beare it, before whom I proteſt, that in writing this diſcourſe I have had reſpect to his glory, the defence of his ſacred truth, the clearing, ſo farre as I might, of ſo many excellent learned men (on whoſe neckes this ſtirre is laid as authors of the ſame) and not that I have willingly ſought the hurt, hinderance, or diſcredit of any man.

*Phil.* *And this I pray that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgement, that yee may diſcerne things that differ one from another, that yee may be pure and without offence untill the day of Chriſt.*

2 *Tim.* 2. *Keepe the true patterne of the wholeſome words which thou haſt heard of me in faith and love which is in Chriſt Jeſu.*

2 *Tim.* 2. *Study to ſhew thy ſelfe approved unto God a workeman that needeth not to be aſhamed, deviding the Word of truth aright.*

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## *The anſwer of the Miniſters of* Geneva *to certaine brethren of the Church of England concerning ſome controverſie in the Eccleſiaſticall policie.*

BEing right earneſtly and often required by certaine deare brethren of the Church of England that we would in their miſerable ſtate give them ſome kind of counſell wheron their conſciences might be ſtayed, the judgement of many being therein divers; we did long defer the ſatisfying of their requeſts upon weightie cauſes. And we aſſure the reader that even now alſo we moſt gladly would hold our peace, were it not a matter of conſcience to reject the ſuite of the brethren ſo often enforced, and with moſt grievous groanings renewed. Of which ſtifned ſilence of ours theſe were the cauſes; firſt, as on the one part we doubt not of the credit of the brethren, as though they had not ſincerely deſcribed the ſtate of the cauſe unto us, ſo on the other ſide it is moſt hard for to ſuſpect ſuch things, ſo cleane beſides all office of Biſhops, much leſſe perſwade our ſelves the ſame by ſuch perſonages done.

And farther, what men are we that we ſhould determine upon ſuch cauſes? Alſo, if it were lawfull for us either by authoritie, or elſe by conſent or requeſt of either parties, to give ſentence hereupon, yet were it a matter moſt wrongfull, either partie not hard or not preſent to determine. Laſt of all, feare miſtruſted, leaſt ſo great a miſchiefe ſhould by this our counſell (how ſimple ſo ever it is) rather become raw then skinned; it being a ſore of ſo deſperate a nature, as that it ſeemeth to be, that prayers and patience can onely ſalve the ſame.

Seeing then, that by the ſundry requeſts of the brethren, we are ſo hardly perſwaded, that of force we ought to give them ſome kind of adviſe: We do openly proteſt, that we ſo give the ſame herein, as thoſe that will not in any wiſe prejudice the other partie, much leſſe challenge to us a juſticiers roome over any. And all thoſe men (into whoſe hands theſe do come) we do in the Lord deſire that they be not herewith offended, but do perſwade themſelvs that theſe contents are both ſimple and faithfully written of us as upon a queſtioned cauſe graunted, that the conſciences of the brethren which deſire it, might ſome way be better appeaſed, which to ſet altogether at naught were a deed wholly void of charitie.

Therefore the cauſe ſtanding as wee are informed, wee profeſſe plainely and in good faith, that our judgements over theſe queſtions are thus.

It is demanded, whether we can approve this diſorder in calling of men to the function of the Miniſtery, which is, that the multitude of thoſe which ſue for order ſhal be inrolled in the Miniſtery, both without the voyces of Elders, and alſo no certaine cure appointed them, but lightly examined of their lives and behaviour, to whom alſo, at the luſt of the Biſhop ſhall libertie be given afterwards to preach the Word of God for a time preſcribed, otherwiſe to rehearſe onely the Church Service.

We anſwer, that ſuch callings of Miniſters, whether we anſwer them by the rule of Gods expreſſe Word, or elſe by force of Cannons that are beſt tried and allowed, are holden and eſteemed of us, altogether unlawfull, albeit we know that it is better to have halfe a loafe then no bread. But we beſeech God with our whole hearts, that it alſo will pleaſe him to beſtow upon the Kingdome of England alſo the ſame (that is) a lawfull and ordinary calling of men to the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments. For it being either kept out or hindred, the beneſit of the Doctrine of Truth, muſt of force by and by vaniſh away, or elſe be held up by ſome meanes that is ſtrange, yea, altogether ghoſtly and ſupernaturall.

Furthermore, we doe in Gods moſt holy Name, moſt humbly ſue to the Princes Soveraigne Majeſtie, that with the whole force of her minde, ſhe endeavour the correction of this point, wherein the whole ground and ſtay of the Church of England, and therefore of the Realme alſo doth ſtand and perſiſt.

And thirdly we doe with teares beſeech both thoſe high perſonages that are of her Majeſties honourable Counſell, and thoſe which have ſucceeded in the place of the Popiſh Biſhops (undoubtedly through the ſpeciall mercy of the high and good God) that they out of the ſelfe-ſame place where overthrow and diſtruction did iſſue, they ſhould utterly deſtroy that tyranny which hath thus caſt downe headlong the very Chriſtian Church, and we crave of them in the dreadfull Name of God, before whoſe redoubted throne of Judgement we all ſhall be arreſted, that with all conſideration and mindfulneſſe of the yeares paſt, and conſcience of their dutie and charge, they will not ſlacke to vow and betroth their whole diligence, as well in ordering the meanes that may accompliſh this thing, as in perſwading the Queenes Majeſtie thereto, and that they ceaſe not at all this thing being unachieved, chiefely ſeeing God hath beſtowed upon them, the

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Princely majeſtie of ſo ſingular a Miſtris, as from whoſe hands they can not but hope for all princely and excellent things, unleſſe they liſt in their owne eaſe to faile themſelues. But ſome will aske, how ſhall we doe in this point, untill then? Verily if the caſe were ours we would not receive this miniſtery upon theſe conditions if it were proffered; a great deale leſſe would we ſue for it. Notwithſtanding, we exhort theſe men to whom God hath by this way mad entrance to the enlarging of the glory of his kingdome, that in the feare of God they doe couragiouſly abide therein, yet with the condition that it may be lawfull for them holily and religiouſly to exerciſe all their whole miniſtery. And therefore may alſo propound, and urge thoſe things in their cures which doe alwayes appertaine to the advancement of the better eſtate therein. For otherwiſe, if they be forced of this libertie and ſo willed to winke at manifeſt abuſes, that they ſhould alſo approve theſe things which doubtleſſe ought to be redreſſed: what thing elſe can wee perſwade them then that they ſhould retire from this, to their private life rather then without conſcience to nouriſh that miſchiefe which doth of force draw with it the whole waſting and decay of all the Congregation? Yet wee hope that the Queenes highneſſe, and ſo many honourable and good men will in ſuch ſort plant their diligence, that rather priviledge of libertie may be granted to the conſciences of ſo many godly and learned brethren, then that theſe horrible evils ſhould follow: To wit, that the Paſtors of the flockes ſhould be conſtrained either againſt the ſoundneſſe of their conſciences to doe that which is evill (and ſo to be chained in other mens ſinnes, or elſe to reſigne their miniſtery, for that third neceſſitie that will enſue this, which is, that againſt the Princes and Biſhops wills, they ſhould exerciſe their office) we doe ſo much the more tremble at, becauſe of thoſe reaſons which of themſelves are plaine enough, albeit we doe not utter them.

It is alſo deſired of us to anſwer, plainely and truely whether we doe allow the diſtinction ordeined in the wearing of copes and garments as well for the common uſe, as for the miniſtery.

We therefore doe flatly anſwer, the cauſe ſtanding as we do underſtand, that thoſe men that are authors hereof doe deſerve moſt evill of the Church and ſhall anſwer at the dreadfull barre of Chriſt his judgement. For although that we thinke that that politique order whereby not citizens alone, but alſo the degrees of

functions are marked and noted is not to be diſcommended wholly at all: yet we are of opinion that not every marke and note is ſtraight way to be uſed. For put the caſe that the Miniſters were commanded to weare the pide coate of a foole, or the garment of a vice in a play, were it not manifeſt ſcorning of the Miniſtery ſo to doe? And thoſe that uſe theſe other garments and apparell commanded, doe ſeeme verily to us to treſpaſſe ſomewhat worſe then ſo, becauſe that the Lord hath not onely reared and ſet us this Prieſtlike apparell as a toy to be laught at even of many of the Papiſts themſelves: But it is alſo certaine, that the ſame is polluted and defiled with infinite ſuperſtition. But ſome men will pleade the antiquitie thereof. Surely they are old, and yet the Apoſtolique ſimplicitie wherein the Church did flouriſh, is a great deale more ancient then this. Alſo, if it pleaſe him to wade yet further to ſearch about theſe matters, it ſhall bee eaſie enough to ſhew that theſe things which after that, did ſerve for the note and marke of the Miniſtery were firſt uſuall among the people, and common. And therefore whence commeth it, things being altered after ſo long a ſeaſon, that this forreine and ſtrange guiſe ſhould bee reteined.

Doth it not come of a zeale both evill and unprofitable? But ſome men will ſay, theſe things for all that are things of the middle ſort, and indifferent. We grant indeed that they are ſuch if you will conſider them ſimply, and in their owne nature, and apart from all circumſtances; but who are they that will ſo weigh and conſider them? For theſe men that are yet Papiſts, what purpoſe ſoever this civill Law doth pretend, are ſurely by this meanes eſtabliſhed deeper in this ſuperſtition which hath ſo overgrowne them. And theſe men that began ſo earneſtly to abhorre ſuperſtition, that they now did deteſt monuments and reliques thereof: How much are they offended and wounded herein. As for thoſe which are further, and better learned, what fruite reape they thereof. And further is this difference and marke of the functions of ſuch importance, that therefore the conſciences of ſo many ſhould be troubled: eſpecially ſeeing the reaſon and purpoſe thereof newly ſet abroach is but drawne even from thoſe that are themſelves the manifeſt ſworne enemies to ſound doctrine. What meaneth it alſo, that of thoſe alſo that are termed to be Eccleſiaſtically brought up and are in the Miniſtery not the

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ſmalleſt part are ſaid to have their Papiſtry in their breaſts about with them? Is this the good houre wherein they ſhall better profit by reſtoring of this attire? Or ſhall they not rather vaunt their creſts as in hope to have popery reſtored againe? If any ſhall object the circumciſing of *Timothy*, and other like examples: we right earneſtly pray him to conſider what *Paul* would have ſaid, If any man ſhould have made this law, that every man that is in the Miniſtery of the Goſpell, ſhall be conſtrained to weare the garments of the Phariſees, or that they in the apparrell of prophane Prieſts ſhould preach the Goſpell, and adminiſter the Sacraments, and not onely circumciſe their children, notwithſtanding, that under ſome colour of reaſon, this civill commandement might ſet forth the ſame; yea to what end are theſe things brought in, for howſoever they might at the firſt be tolerated, till that by little and little they might be taken away, yet being once removed out of the Churches, we ſee not with what commoditie they can be reſtored to their poſſeſſion againe. Therefore we doe eftſoons repeate that we before ſaid, that we can not allow this deviſe, nor yet hope for any good to enſue thereof. Notwithſtanding, we will gladly give over this opinion, if we ſhall learne better reaſon therefore. What then (will the brethren ſay on whom theſe things are ſo throwne) judge you what we ought to doe herein? We anſwer, that there needeth in this anſwer a diſtinction. For the caſe of the Miniſters, and the caſe of the people are not all one herein. Furthermore, many things may, yea, and ought to be borne and tollerated, which are notwithſtanding not juſtly commanded. Firſt, therefore we anſwer, that albeit theſe things (as we judge) are not rightly reſtored to their poſſeſſion in the Congregations, yet, ſeeing that they are not of thoſe kinde of things which are of their owne nature impious and ungodly, they ſeeme to us not to be of ſuch weight, that the Shepheards ſhould rather give over their functions, than receive the apparrell, or that the flocke ſhould refuſe the publike foode of the ſoule, rather than to receive the ſame from the Shepheards that is apparrelled herein: onely, that as well the Shepheards, as their flockes may not ſinne againſt their conſciences (ſo that the puritie of Doctrine it ſelfe remaine untouched) we doe perſwade the the Miniſters, after they have both before the Queenes highnes, and alſo before the Biſhops, ſet their conſciences

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at libertie by modeſt proteſtation (as doth apperteine to ſuch Chriſtians as ſeeke not ſedition and tumult) and yet grave according to the importance of the cauſe, that they doe indeed openly in their pariſh, ſtill beate upon thoſe things that may ſerve to the utter taking away of the ſtumbling blocke. And that as God ſhall give occaſion they will wholly give themſelves both wiſely and meekely to correct all thoſe abuſes, but yet to beare thoſe things which they cannot ſtreight way charge, rather then forſaking their Congregation they ſhould give occaſion to Sathan, that ſeeking nothing elſe to ſtir up greater and more perilous miſchiefes then theſe. As for the people (the doctrine remaining unhurt) we doe exhort them that for all theſe things they will diligently heare the ſame, to uſe the Sacraments religiouſly, and ſo long to groane to God with earneſt amendment of life untill they obteine of him that which doth appertaine to the full redreſſe and amendment of the Church.

But againe, if that the Miniſters be commanded not onely to tollerate theſe things, but alſo that they ſhall with their ſubſcriptions allow them as lawfull, or elſe by their ſtilneſſe foſter them: what can we elſe perſwade them to do, but that having witneſſed their innocency and in the feare of the Lord tryed all meanes, they ſhould give over their functions to open wrong. But our hearts betide us of England much better things then theſe extremities.

It is demanded of us what we doe judge of the trolling and diſcanning of the Pſalmes, croſſing of thoſe babes that ſhall be baptized, and of the demands in baptiſme, alſo of the round unleavened waffercake and kneeling in the Lords Supper.

We anſwer, that kind of ſinging ſeemeth to be the corruption of the pure ancient Church ſervice and glorifying of God therein. And as for croſſing of babes, whatſoever practiſe there hath beene thereof in the time of old, yet is it moſt certaine that it is truly in theſe dayes through ſo late greeneneſſe of the ſuperſtition ſo moſt abominable, as that we judge thoſe men to have done aſſuredly well that have once driven this right out of the Congregation, whereof alſo we ſee not what the profit is. And we doubt not but the demands in baptiſme have crept into the Church upon this occaſion, becauſe that through the negligence of the Biſhops the ſame forme of baptizing of children was reteined, which at the firſt

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rearing of the Primative Church, was to be uſed at the baptizing of thoſe that being of yeares did enter the profeſſion of Chriſt. This thing alſo we may perceive by many the like yet in uſe in the Popiſh baptiſme. Wherefore even as the creame and charme uſed in baptiſme are by Gods Law aboliſhed, although they were ancient, ſo wiſh we alſo theſe demandings, being not onely vaine but fooliſh, ſhould be alſo paſſed over, albeit that S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe doth ſeeme in an Epiſtle of his to ſuſtaine it by certaine deviſed conſtruction.

The bread, whether it ought to be made with leaven or without, we thinke it not greatly to be ſtriven for, although we judge it more fit and conſonant with Chriſts inſtitution to have the bread at the Communion, which is uſed at the common table; for why did the Lord uſe unleavened bread, becauſe that in that houre wherein he thought good to inſtitute his holy Supper, not one man in all Jewry uſed any other. Therefore it behoveth us to reſtore the Jewiſh feaſt of unleavened bread, or elſe muſt it be granted, that is better to uſe the common and accuſtomed bread of all Tables, according to the example of Chriſt, notwithſtanding that the bread that he then tooke was unleavened: for of the practiſe of the Primative Church which the Greeke Church doth yet in this behalfe retaine, we over-paſſe to write of.

Furthermore, kneeling at the very receipt of the Sacrament, hath in it a ſhew of Godly & Chriſtian reverence, and might therefore in times paſt be uſed with profit, yet for all that, becauſe out of this fountaine the deteſtable uſe of bread-worſhip did follow, and doth it in theſe dayes ſticke in many mindes, it ſeemeth to us that it was juſtly aboliſhed out from the Congregation. Therefore, we doe beſeech the moſt good and great God, that it would pleaſe him to inſtruct both the Queenes Majeſties highneſſe, and alſo the Biſhops with ſuch deviſe, as ſhall be muſt needfull for the perfect doing out of theſe filthes, and that at once. In the meane time, becauſe theſe things, alſo are not ſuch as are in their owne nature Idolatrous, we doe judge that they ought ſo to be dealt with, as we have adviſed in the things going next before.

It is demanded of us whether wee allow that Baptiſme which is adminiſtred by Midwives?

We anſwer, that not onely we diſallow the Baptiſme as the

reſt of things before ſpoken of, but that we doe judge it alſo intollerable. For it is a thing that hath riſen as well of ignorance of the very uſe of baptiſme, as the publique miniſtery of the Church. We judge therefore that the Miniſters are bound ſharpely to rebuke this abuſe, much leſſe ought they to hold this falſe baptiſme, for good and firme. The reaſon why the learned on our ſide have often declared. And we are alſo ready when it ſhall be needfull to declare.

It is alſo reported unto us that the keies of binding and loſing are practiſed in certaine courts of the Biſhops, neither by the ſentences and judgements of Elders, which office that Church hath not yet received, nor according to the Word of God : but the authoritie of certaine lawyers and other like, which is more, oftentimes by the authoritie of ſome one man, and that alſo for ſuch kind of actions as are pure mony matters, even as the miſuſe of the ſame was in popery.

Whereto we anſwer that it ſeemeth to us almoſt incredible that any ſuch cuſtomes and examples (being moſt perverſe) ſhould be uſed in that kingdome, whereas puritie and ſoundneſſe of doctrine is. For the right of excommunication and binding of the offender ſhall be found never to have beene before the time of the Papiſts in the power and hand of one ſole perſon, but did appertaine to all the whole Elderſhip, from which alſo the people themſelves were not raſhly ſhut out. Becauſe this alſo the Lawyerlike hearing of ſuites that appertaine to livings did fall to the Biſhops charge altogether through abuſe. For that place wherein the Apoſtle talketh of dayes-men, umpires at *Corinth*, is to no purpoſe, whereas the magiſtrate is a Chriſtian : nor did the Apoſtle ever thinke to burthen the Elderſhip with the hearing of ſuch meere civill cauſes. And it is moſt certaine, that the Biſhops of the elder age of the Church, have had the determining of ſuch controverſies, not for any authoritie that they had therein, but through the importunitie of ſuters, and that as houſeholders, umpires, and daies-men alſo, notwithſtanding among thoſe men where this were ſhewed unto, thoſe did moſt wiſely governe themſelves which choſe rather to follow the example of Chriſt our Saviour, who refuſed to be the umpire in dividing of the patrimony, or elſe judge in the matter of adultery, when both the ſame were preferred unto him.

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Therefore, if in England any thing bee done contrary to this, ſurely we ought to thinke that by ſuch ſentences and judgements, there is not any man before God any more bound then by the popiſh excommunications. And we wiſh that this torment-houſe of conſciences and lothſome prophanation of the Eccleſiaſticall and meere ſpirituall juriſdiction might by the authoritie of the Queenes Majeſtie out of hand be aboliſhed, no otherwiſe then the marring of the very doctine it ſelfe. And that Elderſhip and Deacons may be reſtored and ſet up according to the word of God and canons of the pure Church, which thing, if it be not done, verily we are ſore afraid that this onely thing will be the beginning of many calamities, which we would, God would turne away from us. For it is moſt certaine that the Sonne of God will one day from heaven roughly revenge theſe manifeſt abuſes, wherewith the conſciences of our brethren are troubled, except ſpeedy redreſſe be had therein.

In the meane whiles, the things which are not well done by the one partie, may be well enough tolerated (as we thinke) by thoſe men which beare the thing which they cannot change. Yet thus farre, as that they allow not the thing it ſelfe for good, but do onely redeeme their unjuſt diſquieting by patience. But if ſo be that they ſhall be forced, not onely to tolerate this faction but alſo to approve this excommunication as lawfull, and be conſtrained to aske unlawfull abſolution; to aſſent to this manifeſt abuſe, wee then exhort them that they will rather ſuffer any kind of trouble then to doe herein againſt their conſciences. But to what end is all this: For verily, we doe promiſe our ſelves much better things then theſe, yea, of all things the beſt even at this pinch, eſpecially of that realme, in which, the reſtoring of Chriſtian Religion hath beene ſealed and confirmed with the blood of ſo many excellent Martyrs alſo. Onely we feare this, leaſt that which hath befallen ſo many countries ſhould happen to England, to wit, leaſt becauſe the due fruits of repentance are not brought forth, the angry God ſhould double our darknes, the light of his Goſpel being firſt taken from us. Of this content are our daily preachings in our Congregations, & verily, we thinke the ſame ought to be done of all Miniſters of Gods word, eſpecially in theſe our dayes. That they chiefly ſet forwards this principle of the Goſpel which doth

apperteine to earneſt amendment of life. For this point atchieved, undoubtedly the Lord ſhall give both counſell and zeale and all things elſe which doe neceſſarily apperteine to the accompliſhment of the reparation of the Church, already begun. And before all we doe require, and with teares humbly crave, that our good and right worſhipfull in the Lord, the brethren of the Engliſh Churches, all bitterneſſe of mind ſet apart, which we ſurely feare, after what ſort it hath on either ſide forced this evill, would patiently beare and ſuffer each other, ſo long as puritie of Chriſtian doctrine it ſelfe, and ſoundneſſe of conſcience doth remaine: Willingly to obey the Queenes Majeſtie who is full of compaſſion: and all other Prelates. And finally, that with all concord mindes in the Lord, if they manly ſet againſt Sathan, who ſeeketh all occaſion of tumult and infinite calamities: yea, although they have not like judgement of all ſorts of Prelates at the firſt. For this our writing God is our witneſſe, doth not tend to this purpoſe, that either part ſhould uſe it againſt other as that we ſhould ſend it to you as an Apple of contention: Although wee have concerning theſe matters declared our judgements, even ſimply, as upon a ſuppoſed caſe, (God is our witneſſe) being overcome with the continuall ſuite of our brethren. And we joyne our daily prayers to the groanings of all the godly on that ſide the Seas, that it may pleaſe the moſt mercifull God having compaſſion on mans frailtie, to direct the Queenes highneſſe, and all the Nobles of the Realme of England. Alſo every prelate; and finally, each workeman of this ſpirituall building with his holy Spirit moſt effectuouſly, ſo as the worke of the Lord ſo often begun, and ſo often ſtayed, may luckily be ſet forward, to the great quietneſſe and concord of all men, not onely the old ſtaines in the doctrine it ſelfe and Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline alſo, being at length utterly done out, but alſo all monſtrouſneſſe offerers, and which Sathan newly ſeeketh to bring into the Church againe, driven away. Which vouchſafe to bring to paſſe through his holy Spirit, the moſt kinde father in Jeſus Chriſt, his very ſonne eternall and conſubſtantiall with him, in which perſons, we profeſſe one God, and not divers, ought to be worſhipped for ever, *Amen.*

At *Geneva* the 24. October 1547.

*Your brethren in Chriſt to all your godlineſſe moſt aſſured.*

*Theodorus*

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| *Theodorus Beza, &c.* | *Remundus Calvetus.* | *Nicolaus Coladonus.* |
| *Jo. Gaiagnazius.* | *Jo. Tremlerus.* | *Johan Pinaldus.* |
| *Ge. Favergius.* | *Car. P.* | *Egid. Cauſcus.* |
| *Jo. Parnilius.* | *Kuds Faverius.* | *Vrb. Calvetus.* |
| *Slm. Golerius.* | *Pet. Carpenterus.* | *Franſc. Portus.* |
| *Cor. Barlierdus.* | *Hen. S.* | *Abden. Duplcus.* |

## A Copie of the Letter ſent to the Biſhops and Paſtors of England, who hath renounced the Romane Antichriſt, and profeſſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſinceritie.

*The ſuperintendent Miniſters, and Commiſſioners of charges within the Realme of Scotland: To their brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of England, who hath renounced the Romane Antichriſt, and doe profeſſe with them the Lord Jeſus in ſinceritie, deſire the perpetuall increaſe of the holy Spirit.*

BY word and writ, it is come to our knowledge (reverend Paſtors) that divers of our deareſt brethren, amongſt whom are ſome of the beſt learned within that Realme, are deprived from Eccleſiaſticall function, and forbidden to preach, and ſo by you that they are ſtraight to promote the kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe their conſciences will not ſuffer to take upon them (at the commandement of the authoritie) ſuch garments as Idolaters in time of blindneſſe have uſed in their Idolatry, which brute cannot be but moſt dolorous to our hearts, mindfull of that ſentence of the Apoſtle, ſaying, If ye bite and devoure one another, take heed leaſt ye be conſumed one of another. We purpoſe not at this preſent to enter into the ground of that queſtion which we heare of, either part to be agitate with greater vehemency then well liketh us: to wit, whether that ſuch apparell is to be counted amongſt things that are ſimple indifferent or not, but in the bowells of the Lord Jeſus we crave that Chriſtian charitie may ſo prevaile in you we ſay, the Paſtors and leaders of the flocke within that Realme.

That ye doe not to others that which you would not others ſhould doe to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the

conſcience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike perſwaded, your conſciences reclaimes not at wearing of ſuch garments, but many thouſands both godly and learned, are otherwiſe perſwaded, whoſe conſciences are continually ſtricken with theſe ſentences; what hath Chriſt Jeſus to doe with *Beliall?* What fellowſhip is there betwixt darkeneſſe and light? If Surpluce, Corner-cap, and Tippit have beene badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatrie, what hath the Preachers of Chriſtian libertie, and the open rebuker of all Superſtition to doe with the dregges of the Romiſh Beaſt? Our brethren that of conſcience refuſe that unprofitable apparell, doe neither damne yours, or moleſt you that uſe ſuch vaine trifles: if you ſhall doe the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremitie, which is uſed againſt thoſe godly, and our beloved brethren. Colour of rhetoricke, or manly perſwaſion will we uſe none, but charitably wee deſire you to call that ſentence of pitty to minde: Feede the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly, not as though ye were Lords over Gods Heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flocke. And further alſo, we deſire you to meditate that ſentence of the Apoſtle ſaying, Give none offence, neither to the Jewes nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of God. In what condition of time yee and we both travell in the promoting of Chriſts Kingdome, we ſuppoſe you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walke more circumſpectly, then that for ſuch vanities, the godly ſhould be troubled. For all things that may ſeeme lawfull edifie not. If the commandement of authoritie urge the conſcience of yours and our brethren more than they can beare; we unfainedly crave of you, that ye remember that ye are called the light of the world and the earth.

All civill authoritie hath not the light of God alwayes ſhining before their eyes in the Statutes and commandements, but their affections oft-times ſavour too much of the earth, and of worldly wiſedome.

And therefore we thinke that ye ſhould boldly oppone your ſelfe to all power that will or dare extoll it ſelfe, not onely againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as doe burthen the conſciences of the faithfull farther than God hath burthened them by his owne

owne Word. But herein we confeſſe our offence in that we have entered farther in reaſoning than we purpoſed and promiſed at the beginning. And therefore we ſhortly returne to our former humble ſupplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuſe the Romiſh ragges, may finde of you the Prelates ſuch favours, as our Head and Maſter commands every one of his members to ſhew one to another, while we looke to receive of your gentleneſſe, not onely for that ye feare to offend Gods Majeſtie, in troubling of your brethren for ſuch vaine trifles. But alſo, becauſe ye will not refuſe the humble requeſts of us your brethren, and fellow Preachers of Chriſt Jeſus, in whom, albeit there appeare no great worldly pompe, yet we ſuppoſe you will not ſo farre deſpiſe us, but that ye will eſteeme us to be of the number of thoſe that fight againſt that Romane Antichriſt, and travell that the Kingdome of Chriſt Jeſus univerſally may be maintained and advanced. The dayes are evill. Iniquitie abounds. Chriſtian charitie (alas) is waxen cold. And therefore we ought the more diligently to watch. For the houre is uncertaine, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appeare, before whom we your brethren, and ye may give an account of our adminiſtration.

And thus in concluſion, we once againe crave favour to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord ſhall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jeſus rule your hearts in his true feare to the end. And give unto you, and unto us victory over that conjured enemie of all true Religion; to wit, over that Roman Antichriſt, whoſe wounded head Sathan by all meanes labour to cure againe, but to deſtruſtion ſhall he, and his maintainers goe by the power of the Lord Jeſus: To whoſe mightie power and protection we heartily commit you.

Subſcribed by the hands of Superintendents, one part of Miniſters, and ſcribed in our generall aſſemblies and fourth Seſſion thereof, At *Edenbrough* the 28. day of *Decemb.* 1566.

*Your loving brethren, and fellow Preachers in Chriſt Jeſus.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jo. Craig.* | *Jo. Row.* | *Jaco. Mailvil.* |
| *Da. Lyndeſay.* | *Rob. Pont.* | *Jo. Erskin.* |
| *Guil. Giſliſonus.* | *Jo. Wiram.* | *Nic. Spitall.* |
| *Jo. Spottiſwood.* | | |

Thus

Thus have you heard in theſe two letters, the judgements of thoſe excellent Churches of the French and Scottiſh, touching the things in controverſie. Now if to theſe I ſhould adde all other which are of the ſame judgement and of their opinion: the number of Churches would be ſo many, that the adverſaries ſhould evidently ſee and perceive what ſmall cauſe they have to charge us thus with ſingularitie, as though we were poſt alone, and none to be of our opinion. And it may here alſo be noted, that the moſt ancienteſt fathers of this our owne country, as Maſter *Coverdale*, Maſter Doctor *Turner*, Maſter *Whitehead*, and many others, ſome dead, ſome yet living, from whoſe mouthes and pens, the urgers of theſe received, firſt the light of the Goſpell could never bee brought to yeeld or conſent unto ſuch things as are now forced with ſo great extremitie.

FINIS.

# A MESSAGE OF PEACE:

In a LETTER *Consolatorie* and *Consiliatory* to a neighbour *Minister*, for Resolution in severall *Queres*: but principally about the use of the LITURGIE.

Together with

A friendly Letter sent to Sir EDWARD DEERING, About the time of his *Commitment*: By way of *Answere* to his last SPEECH: As also, concerning the LITURGIE and *Church-Discipline*.

*LONDON*,

Printed for *Samuel Saterthwait*, at the Signe of the black Bull in *Budge-Row*. 1642.



# A MESSAGE OF PEACE.

CONcerning your Letter to mee, consisting mainely of foure particulars, I shall endeavour your satisfaction therein. And first concerning your disturbance even to discouragement about the great oppositions you meet with in the worke of your Ministry, from the People over whom the Lord hath placed you, I shall desire your consideration, first that your Ministeriall Office in the execution of it, is the Lords *Militia*, and I pray remember that a commmon Soldier you are not in the host of God, but a speciall Leader of Gods people against the Prince of darknesse and the black Guard of his hellish infantery: and in the Apostles words I would provoke your Christian courage, *Endure hardnes as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ.* Secondly, consider your worke is preaching the Gospell, I meane the faithfull Word, which the Apostle tels you, is not after man, and if you should yet please men, you should not, you could not be the servant of *Christ*; and you are so allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, not as pleasing men but God, who tryeth the heart. I shall thirdly desire you to consider that one speciall seale and proof of your co-ministeriall working with *Christ*; is grounded on this hostility of men against you. Consider the same place 2. *Cor.* 6. *In all things approving our selves as the Ministers of Christ in much patience in afflictions, in necessities, &c. Remember* (saith *Christ* to you) *the servant is*

*not greater then the Lord, if they have perſecuted me, they will alſo perſecute you.* In ſumme you are preſidented to this by all in all *Ages*, even to this very day, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Profeſſors; yea, (ſaith the *Apoſtle*) and *whoſoever will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* Now I beſeech you my deare Fellow-Souldier in *Chriſt* comfort your ſelfe with theſe words. Your ſecond ſcruple concerning the *Liturgie* I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfie; and concerting the uſe of it, I ſhall deferre the full diſquiſition thereof to our next happie meeting: but *de preſenti* I ſhall onely deſire you to conſider in generall; that ſo much of it as in the materiality thereof is not repugnant to the word of God, may at leaſt for a time be tollerably uſed, you know the Apoſtle did circumciſe *Timothy* kept the *Iewiſh* Sabbath, ſhore his head at *Cenchrea* commanded, yea decreed for *Iewiſh* abſtinence, *Aron* did burne and not eate the ſinne offering, and *David* did eate the ſhew bread, which was not according to the *Commandement*, and yet were blameleſſe; St. *Pauls* policy is exemplarily imitated by you in this caſe, *I became all things to all men, that I may by lay meanes ſave ſome*; and your judicious obſervation of the 14. to the *Romanes*, with the 28. *Chap.* of the firſt to the *Cori.* I ſuppoſe will make up a full reſolution in this matter. Sir I beſeech you ſatisfie your minde in this particular, upon theſe grounds, if you ſhall finde ſufficient evidence of truth therein: And I beſeech you waite on God, and the Honourable High Court of *Parliament*, till a reformation in theſe things be granted from Heaven unto us; that by the plantation of a powerfull, able and praying miniſtery, in all the deſolate and deplorable darke parts of this Kingdome, and that miſerable poore Country of *wales*: in a few yeares, there may be, as doubtles there may be, as little deſire to the reading of a publique liturgie, as in moſt places there is already, of the cold and powerles uſe of homilies, they being both of them alike, uncouth, and *Babiſh* publike myſteriall ſerving of God and his Church. To the other quere and wonder, you ſeeme

to make at the generall entrance, and violent zeale of men, to the continuance of this publique liturgique ſervice, I ſhall give ſhortly an accoũt thereof to my abilitie; And firſt I ſhall ſay, it is little commended by their eager deſire unto it, the pure word, and the pure worſhip of God, are much at one, in the eſteeme of vulgar corrupt and carnall mindes: *The fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, Gal.* 5. But I conceive, the chiefe cauſe of the generall great out-cry, for this Liturgique Service as great almoſt as that at *Epheſus, Act.* 19. to be principally this; that foraſmuch as the dutie of Prayer is a naturall univerſall dutie, and impoſed by God upon the conſciences even of all; the neglect whereof is obligatory, to the neceſſitie of the Divine vengeance; and moſt men not being nor living in a ſpirituall and conſequently an accommodious condition to this dutie, they are thereupon faine and forced to take up a way of ſuch a praying, as moſt conſiſts with and is beſt agreeable to their unpraying unbleſſed naturall ſtate: and if this ſtaffe of their age bee taken from them, no marvell if they cry out with *Micah, Ye have taken away my Gods, and what more have I left me.* There is yet another thing which doth further and much intend their violent zeale to this formall ſervice, and that is this, they thus conceive, that a way of conceived, Miniſteriall Praying, although they account it praying, yet not theirs, and ſo they ſpeake; The Preacher is in his Prayer; his Prayer, not theirs: now a forme of Prayer eſpecially if it come in the loftie high-ſounding Language of the Church Prayers, or divine Service, which in the continuall uſe of it, they have made the matter of their owne memory; of this they cry; 'Tis ours, 'tis ours aſmuch as his, 'tis *Common Prayer*; and this, this onely is the divine Service of God: and which way of thus praying, the ſillieſt Ignorant in all *Wales* may with the Pariſh Prieſt, as expeditely and roundly go through (and even juſt ſo) as any Forreſt Foale, can go, or trot, or gallop, before, beſide, or after a forreſt Filly, unto which courſe of this foppiſh Popiſh Prayer, no ſmall occaſion is given, by

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the very appointment of the Service-Booke, wherein it is appointed, that the people ſhall after the Prieſt ſay over the ſelfe ſame words, by him before ſpoken, as in the Confeſſion and other where, a thing having neither ſhew of reaſon, or warrant of Scripture. I ſhut up all in the Prophets words; *Curſed be the deceiver who hath in his flock a Male, and voweth and ſacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.* To the fourth and laſt of your Letter, as touching your informing the ſcandalous words of that unworthy perſon to the *Parliament:* although I thus think, that the leaſt diſhonourable word or malignant thought againſt thoſe noble Senators, be a neere approch to to an high degree of blaſphemy; yet conſidering the baſenes of the man, and the inferiour nature of the words ſpoken, your forbearance I verily think will be your beſt courſe. We know the worke is Gods, thoſe Worthies are about *Magnalia Dei* the high acts of God, and do you wonder that the dogs do barke, the Divels no doubt do gnaſh their teeth at them; but our Prayer to God and hope is ſuch that neither *Rome* nor Hell nor men nor Divels, as hitherto they have not, ſo never ſhall they have power (although to barke) yet not to bite them. To the reſt of your Letter I reſpit the Anſwere till the next opportunity.

*I am your very friend.*

T. R.

# A Copie of the *Letter*, which was ſent to Sir *Edward Deering*.

*SIr, upon my peruſall of your laſt Speech in Parliament, I tooke to my ſelfe, an humble purpoſe of ſignifying to your worthy ſelfe ſome animadverſions and notes, unto which the ſeverall particulars of your Speech occaſioned me: In the firſt place I ſhall be bold to ſay ingenuouſly that I heartily am ſorry that the bias of your judgement* in hoc die *after ſuch a Meridian light ſhining upon us (both from abroad in the reformed Churches, and at home in ſo many judicious, elaborate and learned Treatiſes formerly and of late) ſhould ſeeme ſo much to ſway to that ſide which will certainely expoſe your late Honourable eſteeme in the hearts of judicious and good men to a great, at leaſt diminution and diſtemper. I humbly conceive very many things in your Speech doe labour of a very great meaſure of affection: I ſhall be bold to inſtance in ſome few for all. It is ſurely true that much of late hath beene written and ſaid to and fro on both ſides about a right adminiſtration of Diſcipline and worſhip: and truely Sir mee thinks out of that diverſitie of what hath beene ſpoken and written, the Parliament hath a very faire overture given them to diſcover and find out the truth which without it would be of more difficultie to them; It is your owne way in your Parliamentary affaires, and in all Judicatures concerning Epiſcopacie, ſo much hath beene cleerely evinced againſt it, and nothing of any weight for it, that I ſhall ſay nothing at all in that particular: Onely I ſhall beſeech you to conſider whether it can poſſibly be believed, that amongſt any ſort of Proteſtants, eſpecially the conſcientious party (for the conceit of ſome giddy ſilly people is inconſiderable) there be any that do proteſt againſt the 3. undoubted ſigns of a true viſible Church: If you meane purity of Doctrine, Sacraments, and Diſcipline; I know for my part none that are* quoad eſſe *at any doubt in the former two, as concerning our Church; and for the latter, I know no man of a right judgement that can acknowledge it for other then ſuch as it is, Romiſh and Antichriſtian; Sir, I doe not doubt, but that upon ſearch ſome may be found even amongſt us, that deny very Trinitie of Perſons and of what number the* Arminian Socinian *and other helliſh Popiſh errors are I know you are not ignorant: But if theſe or another of the like nature ſhould now preſſe into your preſence*

*either in word or writing, I doubt not your name in your Honourable House will shew it selfe in a sodaine suppression of them. Concerning the Liturgie, I shall say nothing, much hath beene judiciously said about it; but I am heartily sorry that such words as these should ever have fallen from the learned lips of Sir* EDWARD DEERING; That the Church of *England* in her publike Prayers, may her Offeture may be as a babbler at all adventure, a brainlesse, stupid, and an ignorant conceit of some. Sir *Edward Deering, if conceived Prayers be a brainlesse, stupid and ignorant conceit of some, and not most proper to the publike ministration of an able Ministery: I will not* say *that noble Lords eyes that lately spake in the House of Peeres on this Subject, but better eyes of multitudes then his or yours doe faile them: Sir, I conceive you are and are not a competent Judge in this matter: Sir, I heartily wish with you for a Nationall Synod well tempered with Learning and Pietie, that the wavering judgements of unsettled mens minds might be rightly directed about aswell the Doctrine of the Sabbath, as other matters of right worship, and Ecclesiasticall Policie, which by reason of the want of a present, publike competent determination thereof, suffer much in the minds of very many. Sir, I shall now humbly desire but thus much of you, even that what I have written* ex animo & amore, *may not be taken in any sinister or exasperate sense; Onely I desire you to be pleased to remember that you now stand in a publike designation, of a most considerable trust reposed in you by God and your Countrey impartially without passion, prejudice or affection, for your part to contribute your best abilities, to make up the hedge, in the thorough Reformation of the Church and Kingdome; that so the Church of England may by your blessed means become that which it never yet was,* (the glory of the Reformed Religion) *which is the humble and hearty daily prayer of him who is,*

*Jan.* 21. 1642.

Your unfained wel-wishing Friend.

T. R.

Follow Peace with all men and Holines without which no man shall see the Lord; Looking diligently, lest any man fall from the grace of God, lest any root of bitternes springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled, *Hebr.* 11.

*God of his infinite mercy quench all unkindly heat in all your Honourable Assembly.*

FINIS.

[illegible]

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*April* 2.

# Newes from the West OF IRELAND:

Relating what hapned to Captain *Weldon* and Captain *Aſton* after their paſſage from *Briſtol* to the Fort of *Duncannon* in the mouth of the River of *Waterford*, with many particular enterpriſes performed againſt the Rebels in thoſe parts, to the terrour of our Enemies, the glory of God, and the honour of all brave Engliſh Commanders.

With a Letter ſent from the Maior of *Waterford* to Captain *Aſton* in excuſe of his rebellious deſignes, with Captain *Aſtons* ſharpe and worthy Reply ſent in a Letter to the ſaid Maior.

Publiſhed by the conſent of a worthy Member of the Houſe of COMMONS.

*London*, printed for *William Wright* dwelling in Diſtaffe-lane, 1642.

# A briefe Relation of all the paſſages that happened unto us, Captaine *Anthony Weldon*, and Captaine *Thomas Aſton*, in purſuance of His Majeſties deſigne for *Ireland*, ſithens our departure from the Citie of *Briſtoll*.

SHrove-monday the 20. of *February* wee departed out of *Briſtoll* with 200. proper men well armed, and colours flying, and ſhipped them aboard, in the good Ship called the Lambe of *Briſtoll*.

Tueſday the 21. we ſet ſayle from *King-roade*, neare *Briſtoll*, for *Ireland*, having with us for our Convoy, the good Ship called the Fellowſhip of *Briſtoll*, a man of warre. Tueſday night, and Wedneſday all day, we kept company together at Sea. Wedneſday night the winde being contrary, ere Thurſday morning our Ship and Convoy were ſeparated.

Thurſday about noone we deſcried land, and in the evening we arrived before the Fort of *Duncannon*, in the mouth of the River of *Waterford*.

Friday and Satterday we landed our men ſafely within the Fort, wherein we found the noble old Lord *Eſmond* Governour thereof, with 100. men reſident for the defence thereof; the enemie laying within Musket ſhot thereof.

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The Enemies Commanders under their Generall the Lord *Mongarret*, are Colonell *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonell *Maylor*, and Serjeant Major *Butler*.

The enemie before our landing had made a Truce or ceſſation of Armes with his Lordſhip for five dayes, which was expired the Sunday following our arrivall: During the time of the Truce, a Parley was ſought by Serjeant Major *Butler*; the effect whereof was, that the evnemie might be admitted to bring into the Fort as many men of theirs as his Lordſhip had therein, upon pretenſe to ſtrengthen the ſame: If this might bee granted, they would lay downe their armes, but his Lordſhip would not embrace any of their treacherous propoſitions.

At the time of the Parley his Lordſhip demanded reſtitution for the wrongs and injuries done unto His Majeſtie, and His Highneſſe Subjects, the poore Proteſtants in *Ireland*; Anſwer was made by the Enemie, They could doe nothing in that particular without conference with their Generall.

Before their firſt Truce was ended, the Enemie deſired a ſecond for 14. dayes, but his Lordſhip would not condeſcend thereunto.

Munday the laſt of February, Colonell *Butler* ſent a Letter unto his Lordſhip, perporting a further ceſſation of Armes, as alſo a parley with foure of our beſt men of quality, and then with eight men; and by and by a Meſſenger ſent from Colonell *Butler*, to deſire private conference with his Lordſhip in perſon, which his Lordſhip refuſed; for that he would have no conference at all with any one of them, without publique notion to my ſelfe and Captaine *Weldon*.

Wednesday the 2. of March, we sallyed forth upon the enemies quarters with 66. Musketiers, intending to have fired their quarters, and bring away such necessaries for lodging as we could get, for lodging for our Souldiers: Our men came bravely on, and exchanged divers bullets with the enemy; but by extraordinary numbers of men encreasing upon us, (being but an handfull) occasioned by the sudden intelligence sent unto the neighbouring Garrisons, as by burning of Furzes, setting Beacons on fire, &c. we retreated into our Fort without losse of any man, onely one man received a small hurt in his shoulder.

Friday the 4. of March, we sallyed forth againe upon the Enemie, removed their Centinels, forced them to retreat from their quarters, and brought away their Court of Guard, made of Deale boards, which served very well to make our Souldiers Huts, lodging being somewhat scarce within the Fort. This day also wee brought our men safe off, onely one man shot in the face, but not mortall. This day likewise our Convoy, together with a Pinnace, came into the Harbour.

Sunday morning the 6. of March we sallyed forth againe, intending to have some further bandying of bullets with the Enemie; but marching up their quarters, we found they had raised their siedge, and were gone we knew not whether; of which opportunity wee taking advantage, presently fired divers of their houses, neare adjoyning unto the Fort, and brought away divers small stackes of Corne, to our no small comfort, and then retreated (to give God praise) into the Fort, resolving to sally forth againe in the afternoone.

Sunday in the afternoone we sallyed forth againe, and

then

then marched forth with ſome 150. men, about a mile and halfe diſtant from the Fort, where we fired diverſe other houſes, there being good ſtore of Corne, Goates, Sheepe, and Swine; ſome Sheepe, Goats, and Swine wee brought away, but could not bring any Corne: Firſt, in regard the day was almoſt ſpent; and ſecondly, for that the Enemie was diſcovered drawing to a place of ambuſh, that was betweene our men and the Fort; but ſome of our men remaining behinde in the Fort, perceiving their drift, prevented their comming; and preſently ſome 50. Muſketiers were commanded to march thither, and make good the ſame againſt the Enemie, untill our men ſhould come off, which was done accordingly; the Enemie not daring to approach any further, but were forced to retreat with ſhame.

Sunday night, his Lordſhip, my ſelfe, and Captain *Weldon* reſolved together with the Captain of the Man of War, that on Munday morning by the break of day, the Ship together with the Pinnace, ſhould go up the River about two miles diſtant from the Fort, and there lie between a Town called *Paſſage*, and another ſmall Town called *Ballybacke*, oppoſite againſt *Paſſage*, the one having a Fort with four gunnes in it, the other a ſtrong Caſtle, but no Artillery in it.

Munday morning the ſeventh of March, I went up my ſelfe in the Man of War together with the Pinnace, and lay betweene thoſe two Townes, the Fort of *Paſſage* ſhot thrice at us, then our Ship ſhot one ſhot into the Fort, and preſently the Fort hanged forth a flag of Truce; whereupon, and for that there were divers of the poor Engliſh Proteſtants Priſoners within the Town, we made no more ſhots, but wholly in-

tended our battery againſt the Caſtle of *Ballybacke*, being the onely convenient place of Rendevous and Gariſon for all the rebellious Crue, that beſiege the Fort of *Duncannon*; our Ship lay before it moſt part of the day, ſending many ſhots to the Caſtle, but could make no breach therein, then I commanded ſome 20. Muſqueties to go on ſhore, and ſet fire on one ſide of the Town, which they did landing at one end thereof, where they ſet a fire one houſe, thinking the reſt of the houſes on that row would have taken fire by degrees. All this while the Rebels from the Caſtle played upon our men with their ſmall ſhot, very thicke; our men retreated into the Boates, and came aboard againe all ſafe, onely one man at the firſt landing was ſhot through the ſhoulder.

But finding the fire not to take effect, I commanded the Boates to be manned forth againe, and to land our men on the other ſide of the Towne, and ſet that on fire: Our men being landed, marched up very boldly to the Towne, in deſpight of the Caſtle, (which ſtill played upon our men with their ſmall ſhot) and fired the moſt part of the Town, and came off bravely, onely one other man (one of the Ships company) received a ſhot into his belly, but none of our men mortally wounded.

*A true Copie of the Letter which was ſent me from the Maior and Recorder of* Waterford, *at the time when I lay before* Ballyhacke.

M. *Aſton*,

I Underſtand, you are come with ſhips to the haven of *Waterford*, the King hath granted the port protection, and juriſdiction of it to our Corporation, and I would be glad you would give us an account, why you come ſo far to the port, and what your intent is, and why you would not acquaint me with your purpoſe before you came, and ſought not my licenſe, I deſire an accompt rather, that I am informed you offer battery, and offence to the Kings ſubjects, I writ an anſwer to my Lord *Eſmonde*, what the reaſon is the Engliſh went not down, and infer the effect was their faults, not ours, I would deſire to know by what Commiſſion you come, as well as the reſt,

*Waterford, March* 7. 1642.

*Francis Briver*, Major of *Waterford*.
*Iohn Leonard*, Recorder.

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*A Copy of my anſwer to the Maior and Recorders Letter.*

*M. Maior, & M. Recorder*,

I have received your Letter dated the 7. of March inſtant, wherein you deſire an accompt from me, why we come ſo far to the port, and what our intent is, and why you ſhould not be acquainted with our purpoſe, before

before our comming, and wherefore your Licence had not been first sought, and further you desire an accompt the rather for that you are informed, Battery and offence are offered to the Kings subjects, and for countenancing of these your peremptory demands, you infer His Majesties grant of the protection and jurisdiction of the port unto your Corporation, in all which particulars I shall render an accompt, not as you desire, but deserve: first, admit you had his Majesties grant as aforesaid, I do aver the same to be (by your revolt) annihilated and made void, and whereas you say we offer Battery and offence against his Majesties subjects, I utterly deny that honourable stile to be appropriated unto any one of them, who have in pursuance of the breach of their fidelity and loyalty, to his Majesty and the Crown of *England*, most insolently and rebelliously taken up armes, and in defiance of his Majesty and the Crown of *England*, advanced themselves against his Majesties Fort of *Duncannon*, and against my Lord *Esmond*, his Majesties true and loyall subject, Governour thereof; and whether they can justly or at all deserve the denomination of his Majesties subjects, when as they have so rebelliously demeaned themselves as aforesaid, I refer my selfe to his Majesties Proclamation, which I have sent you herein inclosed, the like whereof hath been delivered unto Colonell *Butler*, the tenour whereof, I do intend, (by the grace of God) fully to observe, and prosecute with effect, which you may assure your selfe of, by the example of *Ballyhacke*, this is the accompt you may expect from

*Your loving Friend if his Majesties Subject you shall really demonstrate your selfe to be*

Thomas Aston.

*Duncannon Fort, March* 8.

1641.

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# NEWES OVT OF IRELAND

## Concerning the warlike Affaires in the Province of *Lemſter*, ſent to Sir *Iohn Hoye* Knight, now remaining in LONDON.



*LONDON*,
Printed by *G. M.* MDCXLII.

# *Drogheda March.* 7. 1641.

## An abſtract of ſuch newes as hath fallen out here ſince our laſt reliefe from DUBLIN from the date of my former letter, *Feb.*24.

NO ſooner were the veſſels that had relieved us unloaden, but a faire North-weſt wind ſeaſonably ſerved them for their returne, when *Feb.*26. as they ſafely paſſed over our barr, in the ſight, but beyond the reach of our envious Adverſaries, our Governor the ſame after-noon iſſued out with 220. foot and 120. horſe, when having pillaged a certain Village of the Rebels called *Beanly* about a mile off, and burnt up their lodgings, he proceeded further to *Smiths-towne*, where being informed by his ſcouts of 5. companies there ready to receive him, he had the more mind to them, and his men by their former good ſucceſſe, needing little invitation, he inſtantly drew up to them, who no ſooner felt the ſmart of our ſhot, but they inſtantly broke, and by the proſecution of our Horſe every man caſt away his armes to ſave his life, nay rid themſelves of their very cloaths for the greater ſpeed, and ſo there were ſlain above 300 two colours taken, and a drove of above a 100 Cowes brought in, ſo many were ſlaine in the river of *Iilian-ſtone*, that the water was dyed red with their bloud, wherin a part of divine Juſtice was obſerved, that this ſlaughter of them ſhould be in the ſame place, where they had ſo fraudulently defeated ſome of ours, in which it is conjectured an even repay, and wherin ſome of the ſame Captains then routed had their hands in the revenge, as in ſpeciall S. *Patrick Weymes*, having the command of the Earle of *Ormonds* halfe troope, by the remembrance of that diſaſter, ſhewed them the leſſe mercy: Colonell *Preſton* was hard put to it, who for his haſte loſt his rich military belt and a port-mantua of his beſt cloaths behind him, which fell out to the booty of a horſe-boy, in the pocket of whoſe breeches were found three letters of more worth then his head, wherby two Lords with others not farre from us were evidently found as deep in this Rebellion as himſelf.

The next morning it was thought neceſſary to proſecute this unexpe-

cted victory as a probability of rayſing the ſiege on that ſide before they could gather any head again, and ſo very early by break of the day 600 foot and a troope of horſe, after we had by prayer commended them to Gods protection, which in the greateſt expedition was ſeldome omitted, marched out under my L. *Moores* command, but the firſt Caſtle, *viz. Straunine*, which beyond their former reſolutions, they thought fit to viſit by the way, and within halfe a myle of us they found ſo intrenched and fortified, that it proved more difficult by farre then was expected, yet our men drew up and beſtowed 1000. ſhots upon them to the death of many of them, but by the fall of a mighty rain, wherby their matches were waſhed out, they were compel'd to returne, yet ſome were ſent to the next Village *Colpe* pillaged, the corne remayning, and burnt their cabines, and ſo came well dropping in by Church time to give God thanks for this great preſervation, who though continuing in that eminent danger, yet not a man loſt, as it hath bin obſervable, that in all theſe onſets by the enemy, and many ſallyes of ours upon them, there hath not bin above 12. men of ours ſlain in fight, all that have dyed were either by the Famine or other diſeaſes, or ſome unarmed men found pillaging or walking out without warrant, many of which have bin butchered by them indeed: this Caſtle how ever for the prevention of our taking it was the next day mand with 400. men, yet hearing of our reſolutions and preparations for them they abandoned it of themſelves, and is now in our owne poſſeſſion.

After one dayes reſt *March* the firſt, the L. *Moore* and the Governour went out again the ſame way with a competent number of horſe and foot, when after the ſecuring in of at leaſt 200. lb. worth of corne and the burning of what had yet remained of the former dayes worke at *Colpe*, they advanced further, their firſt reſiſtance was 2. companies of the Rebels, who abode 3. or 4. fyles of ſhot, but after that betooke themſelves to flight, one Captain with ſixty others were ſlain, and Capt. *Neale O Neale* taken Priſoner, the Caſtle of *Colpe* after much hazard of ſuch as firſt entred it by the pikes and ſtones throwne by thoſe within, wherby our men were 3. or 4. times beaten downe the narrow ſtayres, yet at length were all ſlaine, and all that day without the loſſe of one of ours, with the Captaine taken priſoner were found many Petitions and Letters ſubſcribed to Sir *Philim O Neale*, with the title of Earle of *Tyrone* and generall of *Ireland*, but yet the foundation upon which thoſe airy honours were built was the condition of taking this Towne, but that day his Excellency was much humbled, who unknown to us was ſtolne over the river and by

our

our unexpected approach, being in feare of taking, crept into a furr-bush, and so lay like a trembling Hare in his form till the Evening, not farre from us.

*March* 3. Some other forces marched out early in the morning as farre as *Marling Towne* above 3. miles from us, where by the former frights they found the Town abandoned, so that their whole worke that day was to reape what was left, for which all Souldiers being permitted to go out for pillage, the Spring seemed to be Harveft, and the Vernall equinoctiall to have bin mistaken for the Autumnall, such a world of Corne like moving haggards came hourely in, our greatest scarcity had bin Malt, so that the whole Towne had drunke water for a week, but now such was Gods goodnesse, that of a sudd:aine from the extremity of want it turned to great plenty, by the sight of which our enemies began to be sick of envy, they in a discontent left their houses; in the midst of this joy we had the feare of a rubb by the running of ground of a Frigat, comming up with pouder; but by our mens continuing abroad till ten of clock at night, shee was secured, that evening tide restored.

But *March* 5. was a memorable day with us indeed, when 400. foot and 80. horse marched out under my L. *Moors* command on the other side North-wards among his owne tenants to *Tillagholland*, where *Collo*, M. *Bryan* with his complices had bin billited, and whether unknowne to us, had bin the night before crept secretly, the whole fraternity of Rebels, to lay their heads together upon some forlorne counsels, even S. *Philim O Neale* being president, they appeared 8. colours, and in view three for one of ours; many had intrenched themselves in fortified places within the Towne, but our men declined them not; but with as much alacrity as their Commanders could have wisht, drew up boldly and gave fire so thick and sure, that after the Rebels had replyed to three or foure files of shot, and finding so many dropping among them, betooke themselves to the last refuge of their heeles, above 300. of the common Souldiers with 7. of their Captaines were slaine, and one great man among them, lately made by them Lord Baron of *Monaghan Art. Ro, M. Mongban*, whose head is valued beyond its worth in the Proclamation, was taken prisoner, who being wounded and fore-seeing his inevitable end, politickly stript himselfe starke naked and lay as a dead man among the slaine, whom one of the Souldiers casually watching, recovered him to his speech, who declared himselfe, and assuring them that the saving his life should bee the redemption of my Lady

*Blany* and her children, he was reſerved, and ſo accordingly hath wrote ſo effectually, that we expect ſhortly that welcome exchange. 150. Muskets were taken, and Pikes ſo many, that they covered the ground where they were purſued. In the meane time our Governour iſſued out towards *Beanly* to provoke Sir *Philim O Neale*, whom we thought had kept that lodging ſtill, burnt *New-towne* under his noſe, drove two companies to their flight into the Caſtle, and returned intending the aſſiſtance of my Lord *Moore*, if there ſhould have been any need, but by the firing of all the Townes thereabouts they ſoone perceived the victory: In this my Lord *Moore*, in all mens acclamations behaved himſelfe very valiantly, to a greater hazard of his owne perſon then the reſt of his Captaines were pleaſed with, he was by one ſtrucke through the boot with a ſword, by another his Horſe hurt with a pike, all ſpattered with the durt raiſed on all ſides by the bullets, but had no other harme: And which hath been Gods wonderfull preſervation, that in this hot fight and proſecution, for two mile about, not one man of ours ſo much as hurt: Sir *Philim O Neale* with the reſt of our great Commanders having thus paid their way, fled very meanly attended, leaving ſuch of our chiefe Gentlemen whom he hath filled with ſtrange hopes, lamenting of their miſerable condition which they ſee deſervedly approaching.

And thus as we were beholding to my Lord *Moore*, as our firſt aſſiſtance at the beginning of theſe commotions, ſo hath he had the honour to give them their laſt in their diſperſing, the fruit of which began to appeare that Evening, when ſome of the Engliſh now eſcaping from them, brought us notice of the two Caſtles *Beanly* and *Stranmine*, being wholly forſaken, into each of which our Governour ſent preſently ſome Companies, who entred peaceably without any reſiſtance, and with ſome Horſe wounded the Countrey towards *Turmonſecken*, but found not a man, onely a world of Corne, which for haſte they had not time to fire. So that now our gates are opening, and the Towne filling with proviſion, and other booty, all the Countrey afarre off deſiring to be admitted to our Market: All mens hearts rejoycing, every ſtreet ringing with praiſes to God the Donor, to whom only it doth belong, which not only privately but publikely and ſolemnely, we faile not thankfully to acknowledge.

Munday 7. *Martij* 1641. the Earle of *Ormond* with 3000. foot, and 500. Horſe marched to *Field-ſtowne*, where, and at *Kilſalghan* his Lordſhip with the forces quartered that night.

Tueſday the 8th. they burnt both thoſe Townes to the ground, and burnt

burnt alſo M. *Hores* houſe, where they found plentifull pillage, and ſo there they marched to *Ratowth*.

On Wedneſday Morning the 9th. they burnt *Ratowth*, and marched to *Dunſhaghlan* that day, being very foule and unfit for a long march: On that day Lievtenant Colonell *Reade*, and *Birford* of *Kilrowe* his eldeſt ſonne (who rendred themſelves to the Earle, as did alſo M. *Patricke Barnewall* of *Kilbrue* the night before) were ſent by the Earle of *Ormond* in the condition of priſoners, with twelve horſe to the Lords Juſtices, who denying them acceſſe to their preſence, commanded their committall to the Caſtle, where now they are. On that day alſo Captaine *Roper*, Sir *John Borlaſe*, and Captaine *Biron* arived from *Drogheda* by Sea, and brought us the glad newes of the Garriſons beating the Rebels from all their quarters round about *Drogheda*; Inſomuch as the Rebels, and with them the Arch-Rebell, Sir *Philim O Nele* have been conſtrained ſhamefully to forſake the ſiege, and run away, leaving not a man about *Drogheda*, and ſo the Lords and other Rebels of the *Pale* thus abandoned by the Northerne Rebels, are forced to forſake their owne habitations, and goe along with the Northerne Rebels, or hide their heads ſome where elſe from their owne houſes, with which they have mournfully taken their laſt leaves, as many thinke, for ever ſeeing them their owne againe. Sir *Henry Tichborne* hath burnt ſeverall Townes about him for three or foure miles, brought into the Towne abundant ſtore of Corne, poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Beanly*, whereby he is Maſter of the harbour, and now open Market is kept in the Towne, ſo as we have ſtill more cauſe to joyne in due thankfulneſſe to God for his ſtill continued miraculous deliverancesof us.

On Thurſday the 10th. other twelve Horſe were returned backe to the Earle of *Ormond*, in lieu of the twelve he had ſent the day before to guard the priſoners hither: But theſe twelve Horſe obſerving ſome more ſtrength in the way ſome ſix miles hence, then they could ſafely encounter, returned backe to *Dublin*.

Therefore on the next Morning, Friday the 11th. at foure of the clock threeſcore Horſe were ſent in their roomes, not that the Earle wanted any ſuch acceſſion of ſtrength, but to paſſe ſtrongly and unreſiſtably in meſſages between the Lords Juſtices and the Earle, whileſt he was doing the worke of deſtroying that part of the *Pale*.

On Sunday the 13th. the Earle ſent a Guard hither with theſe Priſoners, *Edward Dowdall* of *Munck-towne*, *Lawrence Dowdall* his ſon, *Nicholas Dowdall* of *Browneſ-towne*, *Gerald Aylmer* the Lawyer, *William*

*liam Malone* of *Liſmullen*, and *Stephen Doudall* of *Glaſſ-towne*.

On Tueſday the 15th. and Wedneſday the 16th. much pillage was ſent home by the Army, whereby the other ſide are made to ſee that now they have done pillaging us, we begin to pillage them.

The Earle having cauſed divers houſes to be burnt and pillaged, and amongſt the reſt ſome of the Lords houſes, he returned to *Dublin* with the Army, ſaving 500. men, and a troupe of horſe which he left with Sir *Henry Tichborne* at *Drogheda*, the better to inable him to burne, ſpoile, waſte and deſtroy all the Rebels in the County of *Lowth*, and the other parts adjoyning to *Drogheda*, which Sir *Henry* hath begun to doe, and ſaving 200 men which he left in garriſon at *Mallahide*, Sir *John Netterville* alſo rendred himſelfe to the Earle of *Ormond* in that journey.

Since that time *George Deveniſh*, *John Talbot* of *Robertſ-towne*, and Sir *Andrew Aylmer* rendred themſelves to the Lords Juſtices, as did alſo the Lord *Bairon* of *Dunſany* on the 19 of March, and that Lord, and Sir *John Netterville* and all the reſt ſtand committed to the Caſtle.

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*FINIS.*

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# A Continuation of the last Occurrences from IRLAND,

OR,

# The Copie of a Letter

sent from Lievtenant *Haward*, to Mr. *Walter Fitz-Williams* Esquire, lying neere the Privie Garden in *White-Hall*.

Dated at *Duncannon* Fort in *IRELAND*, *March* 29. 1642.

Both Good and True.

*London*, Printed for *John Thomas*, 1642.

# IRELAND

OR

## The Capitol a Letter

from Lexington, Mass., to

his niece in the Capitol

# Good Newes from *Ireland*.

*Deare Friends*,

YOur courteſies hath ſo tyed me that I cannot chuſe but intimate to you, of ſuch Occurrences as hath hath happened to us ſince our departure from *Briſtoll*, from whence we departed with 200. men well appointed, and with Colours flying, arrived at the Fort of *Duncannon*, in the mouth of the River of *Waterford*, the 24. of the ſame, where we found the good Lord *Eſmond* in ſafe poſſeſſion of the Forte, who had endured many a ſhroud Bickering all the Winter with a Hundred men; but many of them Sicke when we Arrived there, what Joy was in the good old Lord, you may conceive, having had 1000. Men of the Enemies lying againſt daily for many Monethes before, when we Arrived, The Lord *Eſmond*

granted a ceſſation of Armes for 5. dayes, at the reueſt of the Rebels, for he alwayes kept them play, And after that they ſent for a Truce for 14. dayes more, but my Lord refuſed, then they deſired a Parley with 4. of our beſt men, with 4. of theirs, which wee accepted of, and as we were marching towards them, came a Meſſenger deſiring (from Colonell *Pierce Butler*) that hee might meet with my Lord, and conferre with him, but we ſent him word, that they had no man of quality, good enough for him to to conferre with, yet if he would come to the Fort, he ſhould ſpeake with him, but we heard no more of them.

The next day being the 22. of March, our Souldiers being in much want of bedding or Bed-cloathes, and the Rebels Quarters being little more then Muſket ſhot from us, we ſallied forth, my ſelfe and two Lieytenants more, with onely 20. Mvsketiers a peece early in the morning, in hope to have driven them from their quarters, and burnt it, but their numbers were to great for us, yet wee fought

fought with them about an houre, what hurt we did them we know not as yet, we had onely one man of my Squadron ſhot into the ſhoulder, they having 9. Colours flying before vs, but very ſlenderly armed, with ſome Fowling-peeces, Pikes made of Dale boards, and ſome Darts, and of a certaine they count their owne caſes deſperate, not knowing whether to leape into the Fire, or the Water, the relieving of this Fort hath much appaled them, their Gennerall is the Lord *Man-Garret.*

The 26. of this Month, we had another Skirmiſh, where without doubt we did them much harme, and received onely the hurt of one man, being ſhot in the Face, the ſame day at night the *Fellowſhip* of *Briſtoll* arrived, being a Man of Warre, with a Pinnace, ſhee having 24. Pieces of Ordnance, and the Pinnace 6. with 16. Oares, being appoynted for this ſervece.

And on Munday after we appoynted to Batter downe the Towne of *Ballibacke*, and paſſage of both Townes upon the River of *Waterford*, and full of good Pillage that they

have robed the Engliſh of, *Waterford* is revolted, and the River of *Waterford* is of that large extent, that it runnes through 9. ſeverall Counties in 3. ſeverall Armes, and all thoſe 9. Counties are in Rebellion.

Therefore I pray God put into the hearts of the King and Parliament, to furniſh vs alwayes with a Ship of good force with a ſmall Pinnace, and to furniſh the Noble old Lord *Eſmond*, with a Regiment, who is the laſt of thoſe Valiant old Souldiers that reduced this Kingdome to Obedience, in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes; And is much awed by all this whole Countrey, none except the Lord Preſident of *Munſter* is able to doe his Majeſty like Service; We heare for certaine by the Countrey People that the Lord Preſident of *Munſter* hath burned *Dungarvin* to the ground, a Sea-port Towne within 12. Leagues of vs, And ſlaine 300. of one Captaine *Wiſes* Regiment, And driven Sir *Nicholas Welch* to *Waterford* the 28. of *March*, we removed the Rebels further from us, fired their Quarters, and burnt ſome certaine houſes, and brought away

way their Corne, we being not above 250 men have driven from theſe Quarters 9 Companies with their Colours flying, bleſſed be God that fighteth our Battels, we are very proſperous at this preſent.

The 29. of March we ſent the great Ship and Pinnace to the paſſage, and *Balihacke* to batter it downe, the great Ship hath beſtowed great ſtore of great ſhot upon them, what further they have done we cannot know till to morrow, this is all I can acquaiut you with till my next Letter.

My Captaine is come for England to move about a Regiment for my Lord *Eſmond*, he being in hope to obtaine a Livetenant Colonels place, he hath promiſed me to move for a company for me, he can now report ſufficiently of my ability, I ſhall intreate you to aſiſt him for me, J doubt not but in due ſeaſon I ſhall be able to give you a teſtimony of thankefulneſſe, thus having writ unto you by another Gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Ormond*, and fearing it might faile, I have written againe with an addition of what hath happened ſince I writ that Letter, J

will

will not faile you every oppertunity of writing, I requeſt I may be remembred to your little Gentleman Mr. *Morgan*, and that I may heare from you touching the affayres of of our Church and Common wealth, who together with his MajeſtieGod proſper, which God alwaies bleſſe and proſper you.

*Your true and faithfull Friend*
*Lazarus Hayward.*

*Duncannon Fort,*
*March, 29. 1642.*

FINIS.

# A PRESSE FULL OF PAMPHLETS:

*WHEREIN,*

Are set Diversity of Prints, containing deformed and misfigured Letters: Composed into Books fraught with Libellous and Scandalous Sentences.

*In the Yeer of their Uncasing,*

1642.



LONDON, Printed for R. W.

1642.

A

# PRESSE

FULL OF

# PAMPHLETS:

WHEREIN

Are set Diversity of Prints, containing deformed and misfigured Letters: Compiled into Books fraught with Fashions and Sentences.

In the Year of their Teaching,

1642.



LONDON, Printed for R. W.

1642.

# A SCOURGE FOR PAMPHLETIZERS.



There is nothing more congruent to the nourishment of division in a State or Common-wealth, then diversity of Rumours mixt with Falsity and Scandalisnes nothing more prejudiciall to a Kingdome, then to have the divisions thereof made known to an enemy; nothing more infamous to Nobility and Gentility, then abusive Pamphlets, and scurrilous descripsions of the severall dispositions of Honourable and worthy persons; Nothing more disgracefull to the proceeding of any Court of Judicature, then to have

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the fame ſpread over the world in unformly and obnoxious Papers. Secrecy in the Agitation of great Affairs, hath alwayes bin accompted good Policy in the alteration of the Government of a State. My intentions in this Paper, is no otherwiſe but to deſcribe the abuſe of Printing, in publiſhing every Pamphlet that comes to their preſſe; abuſing therin not only the perſons of many Honourable, learned, and worthy Members of the State, but even the Proceeding of the High Court of Parliament, and the worthy Members thereof, are by the ſame expoſed to the view of all men. And were the ſame truly and really publiſhed, it would gain great Admiration & Renown. But in the deſcription, it is ſo interlaced & intermixed with fictitious deviſings of idle and rath wits, that the ſame are not credulous, and by that means loſeth that due and awfull reſpect, which otherwiſe ought to bee aſcribed unto the ſame. Never Parliament ſo famous for Loyalty towards a Soveraign, Piety towards God, and intregrity towards their Country, ſo wiſe and politique in their Proceedings, for the ſettlement of the peace and tranquility of his Majeſty and his Kingdomes; and of ſuch courage and magnanimous ſpirits, that former Ages have not paralel'd the ſame: and never a Parliament ſo much abuſed, by ſcurrilous and fictitious Pamphlets, never ſo much printing of Parliamentary Proceedings, as hath bin during the ſitting of this moſt happy and renowned one.

The first Inventors of the Art of Printing Pamphlets in this last Remarkable year of Printing, was Clerks, or a Clerk as it is supposed, who being but a single man, could not be contented to live of 15 s. the week, which he might gain by writing the true Proceedings in Parliament, and till Printing were unquestionable, and other Passages concerning the same, which Gentlemen of good worth delighted in. But in hope of more gain to himself, by undoing of others, put the first Copy of the Diurnall Occurrence that was printed to a Printer, and then came all other things true and false to the Presses. This was the first stop to the ruinating of the tribe of Clerks.

2.

Now the wheels of mens brains were turned round, and the eyes of their wits were wandring over the Earth to find a meanes of honest subsistance by their industry, and at last, perceiving their wits must be the chief meanes of their livelyhood, they betook them to the same, and seeing the same for want of former practice, were grown somewhat rusty, they conceived it were the more safest way to scour them, with Wine, Beer, and Tobacco, in some honest Ale-house or Tavern, and being of the right Nature, or stamp of English men,

who

who think a thing to be never well enough do till it be overdone, and prove useleſſe or hurtfull; they in ſcouring their brains, filld the Pan ſo full of Liquor, that they drownd their wits; and ſo producing them uncapable of good reaſon, betooke themſelves to fabulous invention, their wits being fluent with overmuch moiſture conceived themſelves uncapable to invent a whole volum, upon the circle of the moon, or Beam of the Sun, or twinckling of a ſtar; and came they but to ſpeak of the Planets, they had preſently a Library in their Pates; who being ſeparated and ſubdivided, would ſoone cover the ſuperficies of the Earth; and indeed they failed not in their conceits, for the Joines of their fingers being looſened, and made nimble, they have filled the City and Countries with the fruits of their tapliſh inventions.

3.

Having thus far proceeded, even ſo farre, that their wits are more drowned with invention, then before with Liquor, they are ſo weakned in the brains with ſtudy for future imployment, that falling into deſpair, that this Kingdome can afford no more matter to repleniſh their purſes withall, they dive into the nethermoſt parts of the Earth, and from *Lucifer*, *Pluto*, and infernall ſpirits, they bring good ſheets of written paper, and having waſted the Divels Store-houſe; I conceive their occupation is neer unto a period, in this world, on this ſide the ſalt-waters; but

they begin to go beyond Sea for new Newes, from *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Denmarke*, *Portugal*, & part of *Holland*, but I cannot find any of them have bin at *Amsterdam* or *New England*, I hope these they reserve for their last refuge. In these remote and forreign Nations, they have great store of stuffe; for if they do but hear the Lord *Dungarvan*, the Lord *Ormond*, Lord *Moor*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, &c. once named, and the places of their residence, whether in *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Munster*, *Vlster*, *Leinster*, and *Meinster*, they have infused into their noddles variety of very rare Letters, consisting of more then true wonders wrought by our Party against the Rebels; great Overthrowes, and strange myracles by the Rebels, wrought against the Protestants, and such like; which if I should recite, I could not comprehend within the compasse of a Pamphlet, but must stretch my line to the length of a Volume.

And lastly, to conclude, this kind of new invented profession, [illegible] at the last gaspe, the substance and strength [illegible] almost withered and decayed, [illegible] have turned the stream into a [illegible] channell; and come now again to the proceedings of the Parliament, the which they have so [illegible] tiplyed, that in very Diurnals (some weeks) they can at one prodigious birth, bring forth fifteen at a time; but so good Breeders are these Male-females, that they seldome issue forth lesse then 8. or 9. of what ve-

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verity, whether shadowes, or substances, is left to judge. Besides, they have a corner, in their Venters to breed Confusions, Speeches, Petitions, Declarations, &c. in which they are merry of the unfruitfull Ass. All which are now almost at an end. And therefore I wish (Summer being comming) to make Hay while the Sun shines; for if it be true the Astronomers saith, it will suffer us long a great Eclipse, for above foure houres at least.

FINIS

K (2) 12

# ANTIDOTES AGAINST SOME

## infectious passages in a Tract, concerning Schisme.



LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Vnderhill* at the signe of the Bible
in Woodstreet, 1642.

# Antidotes againſt ſome infectious paſſages in a Tract, concerning Schiſme.

Pag. 5. *Toward the end: paraphraſtized perſons.*

IT is a great pleaſure, and advantage to the *Socinians*, to leſſen the eſtimation of the judgement of the Fathers, that ſo their mighty works againſt *Arrians*, and others of kin to *Socinians*, may have leſſe credit and truſt; But certainly his Argument doth not follow, That becauſe they have failed in ſome leſſer points, therefore their judgment is not competent in greater: This Argument being ſet againſt *Barnabas*, and *Paul* would have ſhewed an ill face: Becauſe *Barnabas* and *Paul* did not agree in the ſmall Controverſie of taking *Marke* with them, they were incompetent Judges of greater Controverſies of Faith. It is a wiſe Diſpenſation of *Divine Providence*, That in this life wee know but in part, and it is a great preſervation of Humility, that it is ſo. Our blindneſſe in leſſer matters ſhewes whence wee have our Light in greater, and calls upon us to give the Glory of our Light to the Father of Lights. Again, this knits us the faſter in a ſpirituall Commerce, while one man knowing but in part, hath need of anothers help, who knows that part, which to himſelf was unknowne. If this Authour know more concerning the Controverſie of *Eaſter*, ſurely I believe the Fathers knew more then hee (before hee had read them) of the great Controverſies of the *Trinity*, And certainly if the mighty Arguments taken out of the heart of Scripture, by *Athanaſius*, *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and others, againſt thoſe Hereſies, which are now revived by *Socinians*, be duly

duly weighed, it muſt be acknowledged that the Spirit of Truth was powerfull in them, and that they had the very minde of Chriſt: And ſo at worſt, they were but like the Church of *Thyatira*, which the Spirit commends for *Faith*, and works, though with all the ſame Spirit ſaith, *I have a few things againſt thee.* Revel 2.

Pag. 7. *Towards the end. What if the geſture or adoration be uſed to the Altars?* This paſſage hath need of Salt, to make it ſavoury. If there be an idolatrous adoration to Altars in one place, and none in another, I think it is no *Schiſme* to forbeare that place, where this abominable wickedneſſe is committed, which both offends God, and vexeth the ſouls of righteous *Lots*: and to goe to another, where neither God, nor man is ſo offended. And it is conſiderable, whether thy voluntary, and indifferent uſing ſuch places doe not encourage ſuch Idolaters in their Idolatry, yea, give ſome hint to a weak brother to think that it is approved by thee. Saint *Pauls* reaſon againſt eating things ſacrificed to Idols, ſeems to lead us to ſuch an opinion. Neither doth this example of the *Iſraelites* comming to *Shiloh*, (where were the corrupt manners of *Elies* ſons) agree with this caſe: For there was a neceſſity at that time to repaire to that place, it being ſetled, and peculiarly appointed for a great part of Gods worſhip, which could not elſewhere be performed. Deut. 12.5,11, 13,14. 1 Sam. 1.3.

Pag. 9. *Indeed Manichaiſme, Valentinianiſme, Macedonianiſme, &c.* It ſeemes that the buyers of this Authour inclines more to *Arrianiſme* than to *Macedonianiſme, Manichaiſme*, &c. And certainly, if *Socinians* may

be Judges, they will finde reaſons, why *Arrianiſme* ſhall be accounted but a *Schiſme*, and the others Hereſies: But indifferent Judges will perchance find ſuch to be Judges of partiall thoughts, and that not upright ballances, but ſpeciall favours are uſed in this partiality. For is it not a favour to undertake, that *Valentinus*, *Manes*, *Macedonius* did know their Errours to be lies, and *Arrius* did not? Again, though there be ſuch a difference in theſe heads and roots of Errours (which I think this Author can hardly make good out of any acquaintance with their hearts) yet if he had carried an equall affection to each ſide, hee might with equall favour have excuſed their followers, upon whom the names by him expreſſed (*Arrianiſme*, *Valentinianiſme*, *Mahometiſme*, &c.) are fixed: For though the firſt Authors of theſe Sects might differ, yet no queſtion many of their followers were alike, and equall, that in ſimplicity of heart, and out of ignorance, not wilfulneſſe, did embrace their Errours. Neither did theſe know, that the opinions, which they received, were lies. Yea, even at this day *Mahometans* generally doe not think, that the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, which they believe, is a Lie: being ſeriouſly, and extreamly zealous in it.

*Deum verum & cum patre, unum Deum nolunt fateri, Auguſt. cont. ſect. Arianorum.*

*Hi diſtant Nos creaturam quidem illum eſſe dicimus, &c. Epiph. Hær. 49. Pſal. 18.*

Secondly, is it not an high favour to affirme, that the Rents in the Church for the opinions of *Arrius*, and *Neſtorius* were at worſt but *Schiſmes*, and that upon matter of opinion? For is it meerly matter of opinion (wherein is a ſafe freedome to opine one way or another) to believe, or not believe that Chriſt Jeſus is not true God, but a creature? Doth not this looke like a matter of ſalvation, or damnation, and not meerly of opinion? Can that faith, which believes not Chriſt to be God, ingraff

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us into him, who is God? And can wee be carried into union with him, further then our faith goes before and apprehends him? If our faith doe not believe him to be true God, our union will not be with him as true God, & being not united to him, as he is God, we can have no ſalvation from him. Chriſt as hee is God is that Rock, on which the Church being built hath ſafety and ſalvation, and in him is that ſaying of *David* verified. *Who is a Rock but God alone?* Again, if there be a reall diſ-union between ſuch a Misbeliever, and Chriſt; Is there not a reall diſ-union betweene ſuch a Misbeliever, and the Members of Chriſt? Hee that is not in union with the Head, hath no union with the members, and this diſ-union is not meerly in matter of opinion, but in deed, and Truth.

Thirdly, it ſeemes a very ſcandalous favour allowed to *Arrians* to frame *Liturgies*, for their ſakes; that we, and they might joyn in one *Liturgie* and one Congregation.

For is not this in effect to ſay, That in all our *Liturgie* wee muſt not ſay, *Chriſt is very God of very God*: nor call him, that which hee is, nor pray to him as God? yea, may we read thoſe Chapters, wherein hee is ſaid to be *God bleſſed for ever*, or, *This is the true God, and life eternall*? Far be it from us in the leaſt Atome to abate the Godhead of Chriſt, or the Glory, and worſhip due to that Godhead: to joyne with unbelieving men, that diminiſh both his Godhead, and his Glory. If they have not unity with us in the Head, I know no reaſon, why in the name, or for the ſake of that Head, wee may, or ſhould have Communion with them. It is Chriſt (God with us) that unites Chriſtians, who believe in that God Chriſt: And if men are not united to him, and in him (through

Rom. 9. 5. 1 Iohn 5. 20

1 Tim 3.16. (through the faith which is in him, as God manifeſt in the fleſh) there is a true diſunion both betweene Chriſt, and them, and between them and true Chriſtian. And where there is ſuch a Diſ-union, and likewiſe a Diſunion in the very object of worſhip, how can they fitly joyn in one worſhip, who do not worſhip, one, and the ſame God?

Fourthly, it ſeems a favour to the *Arrians*, to ſave them from the title of Hereſie, which is the ancient terme deſervedly faſtned to them. Hee cannot but know that misbelief in fundamentall points was anciently accounted Hereſie, and it was profitably done to put this miſbeliefe under a fearfull name, it being deſtructive to ſalvation, that men might ſhun and avoid it. To this end were the Rules and Summes of Faith commonly uſed, and carried about, that men might take the contrary be-

*Opt. lib. 1.* liefs to be Hereſies: So *Optatus*, *Hæretici veritatis exules,*

*Tertull. de proſcr cap. 14.* *ſani & veriſimi Symboli deſertores.* And *Tertullian* long before him. *Hæc Regula* [*Fidei*] *a Chriſto ut probabitur inſtituta, nullas habet apud nos quæſtiones, niſi quas hæretici inferant aut hæreticos faciant.* And if this Authour will needs have the name of Hereſie taken away from theſe miſbeliefs, yet he cannot thereby take away the killing nature of them: So are they ſtill mortall, like Hereſies, by what name ſoever they be called. Indeed the wilfull holding of leſſe and extrafundamentall Errours may be deadly, but not from the nature of the points, wheron the Errour is fixed, but by reaſon of the pravity of the will, which affects a Lye, and hath not in it, the love of the truth. But Saint *Auguſtine* being a true believer in the greater points, and not loving Errour in the leſſer (much leſſe in the greater) might well ſay, I may erre, but I will not be an Heretick.

*why*

Pag. 10. *Why may I not goe to an Arrian Church?* Surely a *Socinian* may eaſily thinke that hee may goe to an *Arrian* Church, but orthodox Chriſtians have accounted it an abomination: Let us bring forth one example, inſtead of many, not unknowne to this Author. When *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould be enforced to admit *Arrius* into his Communion by *Euſebius* a favourite Biſhop of the Court, he fled to ſighes, teares, and prayers, deſiring of God, that he would take him out of this life, that he might not be polluted with the contagion of *Arrius* (a man reproachfull againſt God) or that God would ſhew ſome ſtrange work; This Prayer ſhortly obtained his requeſt: For *Arrius* going aſide to a place of Retreat, brake in ſunder like *Judas*, and in that unclean place ended his life.] So *Epiphanius*. Their prayers and their perſons are an abomination to that God the Father, who is not well pleaſed with any prayers or perſons, that are not preſented to him in the name of God the Sonne. And ſurely if a looſe belief in Chriſt, and ſuch as doth not reach home to his Godhead may be a ground of Communion, why may not this Authour joyne in Communion with the *Mahometans?* whoſe *Alcoran* tels them, that Chriſt was a good man, though not God, which is not much ſhort of the *Arrians*.

*Epiph. Tom. 2. adverſ. Hær. Hær. 48. ſine 68.*

Pag. 10. *Private fancies upon which we differ.* To call the difference between us and the *Arrians* private fancies, is an untrue, and ſcandalous expreſsion. The Scripture I am ſure, is neither of private inſpiration, nor fancy, but men of God ſpake it as they were inſpired with that univerſall Spirit, which breatheth into the

the Catholike Church. For the ſame Spirit, which animateth the Church, inſpired the Prophets and Apoſtles.

1 Iohn 5.20. Now the Scripture ſaith of Chriſt, *This is very God*: So indeed to deny Chriſt to be true God is a private fancie of *Arrius* and *Socinus*, but to confeſſe him to be true God, and to pray unto him as ſuch, is a Catholike verity. Wherefore let every true and Catholike Chriſtian ſay unto Chriſt with converted, and believing *Thomas*.

Iohn 20.28. *My Lord, and my God.*

AMEN.

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# THE POETS RECANTATION,

having ſuffered in the *Pillory*. the 2. of *Aprill* 1642.

With a penitent ſubmiſſion of all things, that have beene written againſt the King and State.

In an humble Petitionary deſcription, obſequiouſly commended to the Honorable and High Court of *PARLIAMENT*.

IOHN BOND.

*Scribimus, & ſcriptus conſumitur igne Libellus.*

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London Printed for *T. A.* and *Ioſeph Wren*, 1642.

# THE Poets Recantation, having ſuffered on the Pillorie.

THe inumerable multitude of Pamphlets, which have beene ſurreptitiouſly inſerted above this twelve months and halfe to the ignominious ſcandall of the State, did not only exaſperate his Majeſties juſt indignation againſt them, but alſo highly incenſed his Parliament againſt the ſame. Who to give plenary ſatisfaction as well to the whole kingdome in generall, as alſo to his Majeſtie in particular, intended to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on the Authors thereof. And it being my hard fortune, or rather misfortune to bee found culpable in one peculiar Letter; (though thouſand more ſcandalous Libils; and more invective againſt the State have beene publiſhed, whereof I am innocent) yet I was expoſed *publico dedecore*, to the publike ſhame of the world; as the ſole contriver of them all. I confeſſe impartially, I acknowledge the ſublimity of my crime, and errour, without which there is noe

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man living: for according to the grave, and prudent (I had almoſt ſaid oraculous) ſentence of *Cato*, *Nemo ſine crimine vivit*. It was notwithſtanding no voluntary Act of criminall offence in me, but rather an aſſimulation, and inducement of impendent, and urgent neceſſitie, *et ingens telum neceſsitas eſt*. Moreover I ſpeake before God, and the whole world, I was ſuggeſted to write the ſame by a calumnious inſtigator. In all which, my cogitations in the compoſiting thereof may perſpicuouſly bee conceived to bee innocent though it is not innocence that I muſt plead now ſo much as penitence.

*Artificis ſcelus eſt, arte perire ſuâ.*

Thus *Perillus* inventeđ and made a brazen Bull, which was the ſole cauſe of his owne deſtruction, thus *Dædalus* haveing framed an irremiable *Laborynth*, was firſt expoſed thither himſelfe. So that which was extracted out of mine owne braine, (as *Minerva* was from *Ioves*, though ſhe was more divinely guided, and inſpired) was the prime cauſe of my miſerie, whereupon I am involved in that Condoleable Laborynth of durance, that unleſſe I be reduced by the *Ariadnean* thread of Compaſſionate mercy, and Commiſeration *Actum eſt de me et de fortunis meis*, would I had bene *Pythagoras* his Schollar, for then *et labiorum oſtia ſtricto ſilentii obdideram peſſulo, et ſimul effrenatam Calami licentiam cohibuiſſem, et tum in catenatis hiſce miſeriarum voraginibus*

*ginibus nunquam illapſus eſſem.* But *ſero ſapiunt Phryges*, we are wiſe, when 'tis too late: and had I maturely Conſidered, and preſuppoſed the ſubſequent caſualities, which were incident, I might have prevented that danger wherin I am now involved. But I wonder with a repercuſſive amazement, that the *Muſes*, and *Graces* did not diſcend their auxiliary aſiſtance unto me, whom I will invocate reſpectively, to know really whither or no they have divorced themſelves *a fonte Pegaſæo* from the pegaſean fountaine.

Where

Where are thoſe *Dames*, from *Aganippe's* Spring,
That to their lovers a Protection bring,
Gainſt inauſpicious fate; where are the *Peeres*,
Of all Poetick wits; who hearks? or heares?
Where is *Polymnia*, or *Appollo* gon?
What have they all forſaken *Helicon*?
Poore helpeleſſe I muſt then expoſed be
In publick ſhame unto the Pillorie.
But ſtay, retract that word my Muſe, my Pen,
Let it not paſſe, but call it backe agen.
The Pillorie? Prodigious word! Have I
Treſpaſſ'd, offended, or tranſgreſſ'd ſo high?
Let me plough through my workes, if I can find
What can be artickled againſt my mind.
Now I perceive the Cauſe, hence doth diſtill,
That I have beene too ſawcy in my Quill.
'Tis not expedient that a Vulgar eye,
Should gaze upon ſuperiour *Maieſtie*.
'T was that, which dazled my dull Muſe, I ſee,
'T was that involv'd her in this miſerie.
Was *Phaeton* too bold, into the ayre
Whoſe thoughts aſpir'd, to ſit in *Phebus* Chayre?
As raſh, as temerarious then was I
Who touched *Charles* his *Wayne* too loftily.
'T was not for periurie, that I have beene
Thy Captive, Pillorie, nor was there ſeene
Hereticke thoughts in me: oh then forbeare
Or to diſſect my noſe or geld mine eare.
Thy oſtentation moſt ſublime may be,
Which boaſt of That: *A Poet honour'd Thee.*

Since

Since I perceive that the Muſes have all forſaken me heuceforth I will never dip my pen in *Helicon* to embroyder my words with Poeticall elocutions: I will rather ſoake my Quill in *Acheron*, that all thinges (what ſoever I have written either dependent, haveing any reference, or againſt the ſtate) may be obliterated with oblivion. But it is very ſtupendious, that thoſe thinges, which naturally diſcend from any man, ſhould oppreſſe him with miſery. Thus a Viper Produceth young, and ſhe is macerated and ſometimes killed by thoſe, which ſhe did once bare in her owne wombe. Thus *Caſſiodora* was betrayed by the Crying of her owne Child: And thus I was both introduced into this deplorable eſtate by the crying of my owne Poetick babe, promulgated by the ſtreet-cantors, and alſo wrapt up in this indigence by the ſame. The *Capitolium* was delivered, and ſecured from conſpirative machinations by the irregular, and tumultuous noyſe of Geeſe, that frequented there: but in a meere antipathy and Contradictory Mythologie I was betrayed by a Gooſe quill, ſo that both fortune, time, and example did all conſpire againſt me. Firſt fortune was mine enemy, that I ſhould be induced to do that by the palpable, and Paraſiticall incitements of others, which now is like to ſubvert both me and my fortunes alſo. Secondly time was malevolent, in regard it was done in the period of things, when they were all queſtionable, and amongſt the the reſt, that this eſpetially ſhould reflect on mine owne detriment. Thirdly example conſpired againſt me, for in reſpect ſuch a multitude

multitude of Libels being publiſhed, whereof there were many Authors, that my fate eſpetially ſhould beſo diſaſtrous to ſuffer exemplarily for all. And now I do moſt ſubmiſſively recant in all humility, and what I have offended in I am heartily ſory, and penitent for the ſame. Yet I was never invective either againſt the ſtate or diſtreſſed Delinquents: only I confeſſe ſome times I was converſant in innocent things: and I hope the apprehenſive eye of the world will not miſ-interpretate what I have don. And I doe with all obſequious devotion implore forgiveneſſe and abſolution of the whole world, for what I am reputed culpable in, and peccant: but more eſpetially I moſt humbly ſupplicate the propitious reflection of the high Court of Parliaments mercy, and Commiſeration, promiſing hereafter before God, and their Honours an abſolute Reformation in my pen hereafter.

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# A SERMON PREACHED

At S^t. Bartholomevvs the leſſe in LONDON, on the xxvii. day of *March* 1642. Being the day of the Inauguration of our Soveraigne Lord King CHARLES.

By WILLIAM HALL. *Miniſter of that Pariſh,*
*and now thought fit to be publiſhed.*

LONDON,
Printed by *T. Badger*, for *Samuel Brown*,
1642.

# To the Right Honourable Sr. IOHN BANKS Knight, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the Court of Common pleas, and one of his Majeſties moſt honorable Privy Counſaile.

My Lord,

THis Sermon being delivered by a ſon of mine, whom it hath pleaſed God to call to his ſpeciall ſervice in the Miniſtery of his Goſpel, upon the anniverſary day of the Inauguration of our gracious Soveraigne, the 27 of March laſt. In the paſſing of it, not only thorough my eares (for I may well be deemed partiall) but of diverſe others of the then Anditors (who ſurely could not be partiall) it found ſuch approbation, as wee did not thinke fit it ſhould be confined within thoſe narrow limits of a ſmall Pariſh. but that it ſhould bee communicated to others, by this diffuſive way of ſilent ſpeaking by theſe dumb Characters, to the

*eyes, eares and hearts of all who pleaſe. My Lord, I have long ſtudied to find out ſome way or other, wherely I might returne ſome acknowledgement of thoſe many undeſerved favours, which I have received from your Lordſhip, and having the free tender of this Sermon, from the Deliverer of it as a pledge of his duty to mee: I could not but think fit (I having nothing elſe ſo worthy) to preſent it to your Lordſhip, the rather; Firſt becauſe the ſubject of it is touching Rulers and Magiſtrates, amongſt which your Lordſhip ſits in none of the loweſt rankes. Secondly, becauſe it teacheth the duty of the people to their Rulers and Magiſtrates, and how they ought to deport themſelves towards them in words and actions. A thing very neceſſary in this licentious age of ours where every man conceives hee may not only thinke what hee liſt, but utter what he thinkes, be it of the greateſt or higheſt: I ſhall humbly deſire your Lordſhip, to ſet apart one vacant houre for the peruſall of it, and conſider it comes from a higher Spirit than from the ſpirit of the Speaker; Wherefore it cannot bee altogether unworthy Your Lordſhips ſparing ſo much time for contemplation of it: We ſhall wiſh it may prove acceptable to Your Lordſhip; And for us, both the* Author *and the* Preſenter,

ſenter, *Wee ſhall ever (as exceedingly obliged) reſt deſirous to take hold of all occaſions to offer to Your Lordſhip all fit teſtimonies of our duties and reſpects and ſhall ever remaine*

Your Lordſhips moſt humble and
affectionate ſervants in all wē
can performe,

NATHANIEL HALL,
WILLIAM HALL.

EXOD. 22. 28.

*Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the Ruler of thy people.*

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THe Pulpit is not to bee made the theater to vent politique Diſcourſes: Nor is it the taske of the Preacher of the Goſpell to buſie the minds of the people with Civill matters, who are more eaſily fixed upon them than upon Divine. It hath been one of the diſeaſes of our age, not only for Laick preachers, but ſome of the lawfull Miniſters of Chriſt, to make the matters of the times the ſubjects of their Sermons, more than matters more neceſ-

neceſſary to Salvation, they have taught τὸν καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κύριον, the courſe of the World more than the Croſſe of Chriſt. My Text (though it concern Politique Government) will not, I hope, ingage me to ſuch an error, to unprofitable diſcourſes of Policy, or intermedling with the times which is not for edification: yet you ſee it is fitted to the day. The day is both Gods and the Kings, and therefore challengeth the remembrance of thoſe duties, which God requireth towards Kings and Governors. Neither indeed is ſuch Doctrine more ſeaſonable in reſpect of the day (the anniverſary of our Princes inauguration) than for thoſe dayes wherein we live. The παῤῥησία, or liberty of the tongue extends ſo far that every man or woman make themſelvs the Cenſurers of Magiſtracy; one diſreliſhing and taxing the actions of the ſacred Senate of our Common-wealth; another throwing his private imputations upon the perſon of Gods annoynted. One undertaking (that which only is peculiar to the higheſt) to ſtand in the Congregation of Princes and be Iudge among the Gods; another uſing ſuch language as that of *Shimei* to *David*, or as innocent *Naboth* was falſly charged to have uſed againſt King *Ahab*. The propounded Scripture wil mèet with both kinds of preſumption; for God forbid we ſhould ſo reprehend

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one ſort of preſumers as to countenance the other. All ſorts of Governours are here united in my Text, both the ſupreame and ſubordinate: and may they never be disunited among us; cenſorious or bitter ſpeeches againſt both kinds are ſeverely prohibited, *Thou ſhalt not*,&c.

God himſelfe had now made knowne the Morall Law in ten precepts, upon Mount *Horeb*, and *Moſes* having a Legiſlative power derived to him from God himſelfe, propounds Ceremoniall and judiciall precepts to the people: The one ſort to preſcribe thoſe formalities wherewith God would be worſhipped, the other, to order their politicall government, for the better maintaining humane ſociety in that populous Common-wealth of *Iſrael*. This latter ſort of judiciall Lawes, we ſhall find to begin in the firſt verſe of the former chapter, where we ſhall finde them intituled judgements, which God commanded *Moſes* to ſet before them. *Judgements quia ſunt leges ſecundum quas judicandum eſt*, becauſe they were Lawes according to which judgement in judiciall tryalls, was to proceed in *Iſrael*. Many particular Lawes there are to prevent private injuries betwixt man and man, and here in this precept the Law giver addes a peremptory precept, for deportment towards publike perſons, *Thou ſhalt not*,&c.

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neceſſary to Salvation, they have taught τὸν καίρον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κύριον, the courſe of the World more than the Croſſe of Chriſt. My Text (though it concern Politique Government) will not, I hope, ingage me to ſuch an error, to unprofitable diſcourſes of Policy, or intermedling with the times which is not for edification: yet you ſee it is fitted to the day. The day is both Gods and the Kings, and therefore challengeth the remembrance of thoſe duties, which God requireth towards Kings and Governors. Neither indeed is ſuch Doctrine more ſeaſonable in reſpect of the day (the anniverſary of our Princes inauguration) than for thoſe dayes wherein we live. The παῤῥησία, or liberty of the tongue extends ſo far that every man or woman make themſelvs the Cenſurers of Magiſtracy; one diſreliſhing and taxing the actions of the ſacred Senate of our Common-wealth; another throwing his private imputations upon the perſon of Gods annoynted. One undertaking (that which only is peculiar to the higheſt) to ſtand in the Congregation of Princes and be Iudge among the Gods; another uſing ſuch language as that of *Shimei* to *Dauid*, or as innocent *Naboth* was falſly charged to have uſed againſt King *Ahab*. The propounded Scripture wil mèet with both kinds of preſumption; for God forbid we ſhould ſo reprehend

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Firſt, for regulating their carriage towards Magiſtrates in generall; they muſt not revile nor raile upon them. Secondly, For their behaviour towards the principall Ruler, they muſt not curſe him, *Thou ſhalt not*, &c.

Firſt, the dignity of Magiſtrats in generall, the Rulers they are *Elohims* Gods. There were a kind of nominall Gods, which Saint Paul mentions, 1 *Cor.* 8.5. there are Gods many, and Lords many, which ſome would underſtand in the ſame ſenſe (Saint *Auſtin* for one) with theſe in my Text, of Rulers and Governours, but the Apoſtle alludes there to none other but the vaine Idolls of the Heathen, who in the blockiſh imagination of the people were eſteemed Gods, and ſo were *Dii nominales*, nominall Gods though not *digni nomine*, worthy of that title, being indeed nothing at all, as Saint *Paul*, in that 4 verſe of that 8 to the *Cor.* nothing but by meere fancy, and ſuppoſition. Beſides theſe even Sathan himſelfe is intituled not only a Prince, but *Deus mundi hujus*, the God of this world, 2 *Cor.* 4. 4. becauſe he is ſo reputed by the men of this world: the wicked make Sathan to be their God, they obey his dictates, and ſo do ſerve and worſhip him, in ſtead of him that is God eſſentially. But theſe are Gods καταχρησιν, only abuſively, ſo called by the opinion of fooliſh and ſinfull men: But ſuch there

there are who are dignified with this title by him, in whoſe only power it is to communicate ſo high an appellation, *Ego dixi quod vos Dii eſtis*, I have ſaid yee are Gods. *Pſa.* 82.6. It is not the idolization by mens vaine opinion, that defies Judges and Rulers nor ſuch an ἀποθέωσις, or ridiculous deification as the *Romans* uſed to their dead Emperonrs, nor their own arrogant aſſuming the title of God to themſelves (as did *Alexander*, and alſo many of the *Romane* Tyrants) that makes them to be called Gods; but Gods own appellation in his Word, he honours ſome of the ſons of men with that title which is his owne, and calls them Gods who are but mortall men.

Many ſignificant Epethits we finde aſcribed to Magiſtrats, which ſpeak ſome of them their eminency, ſome their duty. by prophane Writers they are called ſomtimes ἡγεμόνες. Leaders, becauſe they ought to lead others by their vertuous example, ſometimes κοσμήτορες, adorners, they ſhould beautifie the world with Order and Government; ſomtimes φύλακες, Keepers, for they are for the ſafety of their charge: ſome time εὐεργέτας, Benefactors, as our Saviour intitles them, *Luk.* 22.25. becauſe they are ſet up for the good of men, not for the hurt. The Scripture addeth to them many other expreſſive attributes, they are σωτῆρες, Saviours, becauſe of deliverances wrought,

by their meanes, *Judg* 3.15. *Nutricij*, Nurſes by the Prophet *Eſay*, becauſe they are to tender, and educate the Church of God; in *Ezekiels* language they are ποιμένες Shepheards, to feed and rule over the people; in S. *Pauls* λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ the Miniſters of God, *Rom.* 13.6 but this in my Text tranſcends them all, they are *Elohim*, Gods themſelves. All lawfull Rulers then bee they ſupreame or ſubordinate, Iudges or *Magiſtrates* are in ſome manner mortall Gods, *ſublimes & ſapientes viri*, as *Gregory* underſtands it, *Elevati*, as the Hebrew word ſignifies, thoſe whom God hath exalted and ſet over others, ſuch as was *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and the Rulers of the great Sauhedcim among the Iews, theſe are Gods in Scripture language, and that not with impropriety.

For firſt, they are *Imagines Dei*, Images of him who is the Vniverſall Ruler and Iudge of all, there is a repreſentation and reſemblance of the Deity in *Magiſtrates*, more than in Common men; judgement is comitted to them, which belongs ultimately and properly to him; ſome rayes and beames of his Majeſty, he hath made to ſhine in them, though not in all alike, for one Star may differ from another in glory: ſhadows and pictures may be made in ſeverall proportions, one piece may repreſent the per-

perſon only to the ſhoulders, another to the middle, ſome at full length ; ſtill all are Images, and have a reſemblance : Inferiour and ſupreame Rulers there may be, but all have (more or leſſe) ſome of his likeneſſe: to have a power of Iudging and ordering others, to have ſome ſplendor and honor above others, is a Character of Divinity ; Gods they are as by their office and dignity they reſemble him.

Secondly, Gods they are *quia Dei locum ſuſtinent tanquam legati & vicarii*, they ſuſteine the place and perſon of God to men, as his deputies and vicegerents ; God judgeth mediately by and through them, and executes thoſe things, which (were they not) he would immediatly do himſelfe ; they do the works which God himſelfe would do : thus *Moſes* is ſaid to be (*loco Dei*) inſtead of God to *Aaron*, *Exod.* 4.15. thou ſhalt be to him in ſtead of God, that is, thou ſhalt give him councell, and direct him as my Oracle : and the ſame *Moſes* is called *Pharaoh's God*, *Exod.* 7.1 I have made thee Pharaoh's God, becauſe he ſhould execute Gods judgements upon him; God would execute judgement upon *Pharaoh* by *Moſes*. Thoſe who do thoſe actions, which belong to the Higheſt, as his Miniſters and Subſtitutes are *Dii minorum gentium*, they may be called petty inferior Gods, he hath ſo honored them.

Third-

Thirdly, Gods, all Magiſtrats are, *quia à Deo ordinati*, becauſe they are ordained of God, as S. *Paul* in expreſſe tearmes, *Rom.* 13. 1. ordeined they are, not only permitted, but eſtabliſhed by providence, by precept; it is the ſame reaſon which our Saviour himſelfe gives of this title, *Joh.* 10.34. he calleth them Gods (ſaith he) to whom the Word of God came, that is, *cui ſpeciale venit dominandi mandatum*, to whom the ſpeciall Word of God came to give them power to rule; there is no authority but is from God, he is not only the permitter but the author of it: All Magiſtracy is Gods Ordinance. Should we ſeek to the fountaine and originall of all power, we ſhall find God Almighty inveſting man with a threefold power at the firſt.

Firſt, with that which is called *liberum arbitrium*, free will: he erected in Man a Magiſtracy and power over himſelfe, *ut* τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, *præeſſet* τῷ ὀρεκτικῷ, the leading rationall part of the Soule he made the Leader and Commander over the inferiour appetite; hee made man Maſter and Governour of himſelfe till his fall overthrew that internall Magiſtracy.

Secondly, he gave a ſecond power, of man over the creatures, that he ſhould be Lord of them *Dominamini animalibus terræ*, rule ye over the beaſts of the earth, *Gen.* 2. 8.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, he at that time gave a power of man over man, which when there were but two persons could only be *potestas maritalis in uxorem*, the power of the husband over the wife; the Magistracy could only appeare in that, and in that it did, *Gen.* 3.16. But as the World increased, so did this power extend it selfe.

First, in *potestatem Patriam*, into the paternall power of parents over their children.

Then secondly, in *potestatem herilem*, into the power of Masters over Families, and as humane society multiplied, so did God by the light of nature imprint in man a knowledge of the necessity of Order and Government, he taught them by their own bodyes, that some members must be superior to others; and from the Bees and Cranes, Men learned to choose a Ruler over them. Indeed we find Magistracy implicitely instituted by that peremptory Law, *Gen.* 9.6. That whosoever shed mans bloud by man should his blood be shed; Now that any man should promiscuously at his own pleasure execute the Law upon a murderer without warrant, would make him still a murtherer, and introduce confusion. It must therefore suppose a Magistrate, who should have power to execute this Law upon offenders.

Rulers then are all of Gods appointment, they

ſtand by vertue of his Ordinance; be there different ways of adminiſtration of Power, different States and formes of Government, yet are they ſtill from the ſame author: Eccleſiaſticall and Civill governements, Monarchies and Democraties, hereditary Crownes and Magiſtrats choſen by ſuffrage of the People, Kings and Parliaments, all are ordained by him; For his providence doth variouſly call the ſons of men to authority, and orders ſeverall formes of exerciſing Magiſtracy. Thus in that people Which he had taken into his owne ſpeciall immediate care, he ordained various ways of Government; by Captaines, as *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, by aſſiſtance of a Counſell of 70 Elders; by Judges, and then by Kings, and ſo mediatly in ſeverall Common-wealths he ordaines ſeverall Magiſtracies, though not by his owne immediate appointment yet by the agreement of men, ſuch as ſhall beſt conſiſt with the conſtitution of the People: and upon all thoſe he hath ſtamp'd the character of his authority, they are not raſhly to be diſobeyed or altered, they are Gods by his ordination Yet there are ſcruples raiſed againſt this third reaſon (that all Magiſtrates are called Gods, becauſe ordeined by him) for ſome would take away the foundation of it: Surely, ſay ſome Objectors, all Magiſtrates and their power cannot be from God.

1 *Object.*

1 *Object.* For firſt, they are his own words, by his Prophet *Hoſea* 8.4. *They have ſet up Princes, but not by mee, they have made Princes, but I knew it not.*

*Solu.* It is true indeed, God ſpeaking there of the rending of the Kingdom from the ſon of *Salomon* by *Jeroboam*, ſaith, that they have ſet up Princes but not by him, and yet himſelfe tels *Jeroboam* by his Prophet *Ahijah*, *Behold, I will rend the Kingdome out of the hands of Salomon, and will give the ten Tribes to thee*, 1 *King.* 11.31. In one place God ſaith the people had done it, in another, himſelfe had done it; ſurely then the rending of the Kingdome was from God as a juſt revenger for the ſins of *Salomon*; the rebellion of the people without conſulting with him, was not from him: *Jeroboam's* power was from him, though not the peoples rebellion and revolt; ſtill all authority finds him for the author, and therefore they are called Gods.

2 *Object.* But ſecondly, they cannot all bee ordeined of God and ſo be ſtiled Gods for that reaſon, for then would all the worſt and moſt tyrannicall governments claime God for their Patron: hath he ordeined Tyrants, and made them Gods on earth? Did he appoint *Nimrod* and *Pharaoh*? Did he ſet up the *Babylonian* and *Perſian* Tyrants? Did he authorize

rize the *Mahumetane Sultans*? and ſet up Governements that prove ſcourges to the ſons of men?

*Solu.* To anſwer this, we muſt firſt know that all tyranny is the corruption of Government; it is not that ſound and lawfull authority of which God is the author. Government and Governors have all their degenerations and corruptions, as Politique Writers deſcribe them, and theſe are not from God, but from the vices and wickedneſſe of men permitted by him for their puniſhment.

There are three things which muſt be conſidered in all Governments, in every Ruler.

There is firſt, *ipſa poteſtas*, the power it ſelfe, and this is by the Will and Ordinance of God, in whoſe hands ſoever it is, for by him Kings raigne, and though in anger he gives a King, yet ſtill he gives him *Hoſea* 13.11.

Secondly, there is *acquiſitio poteſtatis*, the obteining of this power, this may often be by ulurpation, by corrupt unlawfull meanes, and of this God is not the author, he may permit evill Governors, by forceable or unjuſt meanes, to get that power into their hands unlawfully, which himſelfe hath lawfully conſtituted.

Thirdly, there is *Executio poteſtatis*, the execution and uſe of that power, which if it be abuſive, exceeding

ding the limits of Iuſtice, can no way be aſcribed to him, but to the wickedneſſe of men: Tyrannicall oppreſſion, eſtabliſhment of ſuperſtition and errour, by a lawfull, though an abuſed power, have no relation to Gods ordinance, they find no ſupport or authorization from him: Yet thoſe who execute them ſtill *quoad poteſtatem*, in reſpect of their power are from him, they are ordeined by him, and in that reſpect are called Gods in Scripture.

We muſt yet adde a fourth reaſon, why Magiſtrates are called Gods, and that the beſt and moſt proper *quia Deum imitari debent*, becauſe they are, or ſhould be like God himſelfe in their actions and qualities. They ſhould be well acquainted with his attributes; of Wiſdome, to diſcerne betwixt good and evill; of Juſtice to diſtribute to every one with an unpartiall hand; of Mercy in mitigating the utmoſt rigour of ſeverity. God hath in Scripture aſſumed the ſame titles which he hath given to Rulers: he is *Paſtor Iſraelis*, the Sheepheard of Irael, and they are (or ſhould be) ποιμένες τοῦ λαοῦ, the Sheepheards of the people. he is *Salvator Iſraelis*, the Saviour of Iſrael, they ſhould be σωτῆρες, deliverers of them (like him) in times of danger. He is ἐφορος, the great Watchman over his people, & they are φύλακες, watchmen alſo ſubordinate to him: They ſhould be like God in all their actions, but e-

ſpecially in theſe two, firſt, *in protegenda Eccleſia*, in protecting Religion, and the Church of God; it is that whereof the higheſt takes the principall care, he by ordinary providence cares for the juſt and unjuſt, affords them all life, & aire, & raine, and ſunſhine, but his ſpecial eye is over his Church, how to preſerve his truth, and his ſervants; ſo ſhould earthly Magiſtrates ſhew themſelves *ſimiles Deo*, like Gods in this; Their care and their endeavour ſhould be principally fixed upon the eſtabliſhment of Religion, the advancement of the Church; they can never be more like God, than when they do his worke, defend his truth, advance his glory. Secondly, like him they ought to be in *faciendo juſtitiam*, in doing juſtice and judgement: God is knowne by this, that he is the great executer of juſtice and judgement, relieving the injured, vindicating the oppreſſed, puniſhing the wicked, rewarding the righteous; then are Rulers truly like him when they do that which is correſpondent to theſe: thus did the Queene of *Sheba* tell *Salomon*, that the Lord his God ſet him upon the Throne for that end to do juſtice and judgement; It is the great end of Magiſtracy, and they properly deſerve the title of Gods, no longer than they reſemble him in that. Vnjuſt Magiſtrates have more of Sathan in them than of God, more of the God of this world, than of the true God

God of heaven. Their power makes them like the higheſt, but their injuſtice like the father of wrongs: Properly and truly are they called Gods, when their wayes are like his. It is the generall title of Magiſtrates to be called Gods; here is another added, which ſeemes to be ſingular. *The Ruler of thy people.* &c.

*Moſes* was at this time conſtituted by God the principall Ruler of Iſrael, and ſo himſelfe particularly might be thought to be deſigned by this expreſſion, *The Ruler of the people*: yet Saint *Paul* applying this expreſſion to the high Prieſt, when he was charged to have reviled him, *Act.* 23. 4 calling him the Ruler of the people, implys that it is not wholy to be reſtrained to one, but to any ruler; yet certainly it may include an ἐξοχὴ upon the ſupreame Ruler, where ſuch there is; if there be one Ruler of the people, whom God hath placed in more eminency than the reſt, (as Kings or Monarchs) the Command is principally given concerning him: ſuch as was *Moſes* at this time, ſuch as was the High Prieſt in Saint *Pauls* time, for he was then (excepting thoſe governours which the *Romans* ſet over the Jewes) the chiefe ruler in Iſrael. It is not indeed of abſolute neceſſity, that in every nation there ſhould be one perſon honoured, with the title of ὁ μοναρχὴς the ſole ruler of the people for God

hath

hath not expreſly impoſed it on all Nations: were the Queſtion to be diſcuſſed in generall, what Government were beſt, it were not raſhly to bee concluded for any one, Vniverſally to be the beſt: But that were beſt for every Nation, which would beſt conſiſt with the diſpoſition, and manners, and frame of the people. The mixture and contemperation of them, is without queſtion the moſt Vniverſally profitable and of longeſt duration; where there is one ſupreame Ruler, and yet ſupported with and ſtrengthened by repreſentative Counſellors, where there is εἰς κόιρανος, one Chiefe, and yet *plures Conſiliarii*, a multitude of Counſellors. When only one would rule without ſubordination of other Magiſtrates, the burthen muſt needs prove unſupportable: & where each member would rule, there muſt needs be Ataxy and confuſion; where there is one ſuperior Ruler, and he ſtanding in *Congregatione Principum, in cœtu Deorum*, in the congregation of Princes, amongſt the inferior Gods, there ſurely is the happieſt commixture, there may be expected with Gods bleſſing, the fruits of a happy temper. It is (beloved) the happineſſe, wherewith God hath bleſſed our ſinfull Nation, that we have both parts of the ſubject of this precept in my Text. We have thoſe who are called Gods without flattery, wiſe, and juſt, and provident

Rulers

Rulers. We have one κατ' ἐξοχὴν a Ruler of the people, a gracious King, appointed by God over us, to do Iuſtice and Iudgement, eſtabliſhed in the Throne by long ſucceſſion, from many Anceſtors: May wee therefore joyne them together, and proceed to ſee what it is God Commands us concerning them, which is the ſecond Part of my Text, *Thou ſhalt not*, &c.

The command is not in tearmes affirmative and proportionable to the appellation.

For firſt, it is not ſaid *Deos adorabis*, thou ſhalt adore the Gods.

Nor ſecondly is it ſaid, thou ſhalt flatter them. *Non juſsi ſunt ſacrificiis adorari*, ſaith S. *Auſtin*, they are not commanded to bee honored with ſacrifices, though they are called Gods. It was the fooliſh preſumption of the Heathens, that they would indeed be ſtiled Gods, and have the people offer them ſacrifice, forgetting they ſhould dye like men. Though God give Rulers his own title, he would not have them arrogate it, ſo as to forget they are men: though he call them Gods, that men may honour them; yet he would not have them call themſelves ſo in the pride of their hearts: It was *Lucifer's* ſin to ſay *ſimilis ero Altiſsimo*, I will be like the Higheſt. Neither would he have private men ſuppoſe them to be

God eſſentially, and to forget him in reſpect of them, nor to aſcribe that honor to them, which is only due to himſelfe. It was the madneſſe of the ignorant Heathen to account *Paul* and *Barnabas* Gods in the likeneſſe of men, and to be ready to offer ſacrifice to them; may ſuch idolatry never bee found in knowing Chriſtians. There have beene no greater enemies to the happineſſe of Princes than flatterers: Nor is there any way ſpeedier to bring judgements upon Rulers and Nations, then when the due honor ſhall be taken from God, and aſcribed to men, which are but ſecondary ſubordinate inſtruments to convey them. For God is a jealous God, and though he give the title of *Elohim*, yet he will not give his glory to the ſons of men: While the people cry out to *Herod*, that it is the voyce of God and not of man, they draw down a ſudden vengeance upon him; for immediately the Angell of God ſmote him, and he is eaten with wormes, *Acts* 12.23. There contrary to the old verſe, *deliramt Achivi Rex plectitur*, the people flatter and the King is ſmitten.

It was the frequent affirmation of the late Heroick and Victorious King of *Sweden*, that he feared the peoples aſcribing too much of that glory to him, which was due to God, would bee a cauſe that God would remove him before the work was finiſhed; and

and perhaps it was a ſpeech too Propheticall. Wee muſt not aſcribe,

Firſt, Gods Power, his Omnipotency to Princes and Rulers, as Flatterers have made weake Princes believe that they had power to do any thing, that their will was a Law, that *Quicquid libet licet*, that they ſhould be able to bring any deſigne to paſſe, be it never ſo impoſſible or unjuſt; this was *Jeſabell* to *Ahab: doſt thou now governe Iſrael, and canſt not do this?* Whereas the power of earthly Gods is circumſcribed both by Law, and by the ſhort limits of humane power; they neither may nor can doe all things; they are *Dii*, but non *Omnipotentes*, they are Gods, but not Almighty.

Secondly, we muſt take heed we do not aſcribe to them Gods glory, that is, not make them the utmoſt objects of our thankfulneſſe, or the firſt and prime cauſes of any happineſſe that betides us; we muſt looke beyond them in our deliverances, give glory to God on High, above thoſe on earth.

Many eminent and unparalelled bleſſings God Almighty hath conveyed (Beloved) upon this Nation, by meanes of thoſe who are called Gods amongſt us, our gracious King and Parliament, and more we expect by their meanes: he is not worthy of a tongue or a heart, that will not acknowledge them; but

take we heed we do not forfeit them all, by aſcribing too much to the ſecond cauſes, and too little to the firſt, by looking more to them for ſafety, than to him from whence it commeth. As I am confident, none of thoſe Worthies will arrogate it, but take up that of *David*, *Non nobis Domine*, Not unto us ô Lord, *&c.* So let us alſo aſcribe the honour of all ultimately and principally to God, *for thine is the Kingdome, and the Power, and the Glory.* Surely it is the Lord's doing, if our liberties be aſſerted, our Religion ſetled, our ſelves ſecured: Bleſſed and renowned for ever be the ſedulous Procurors, and the Royall ratifier of it: But let not our thankfulneſſe to them, make us forget God above. Gods they be called, but not *Dii, imprimis glorificandi*, Gods principally to be glorified, here is neither an injunction of adoration, nor of flattery.

But a negative command it is, either becauſe negatives are more peremptory and generall, they bind *ad ſemper*, For it is never lawfull to do evill, in no place, by no perſon; or becauſe the firſt worke of Reformation muſt be by not doing evill; But as in the Decalogue or Morall Law affirmative precepts do include negative, and negative the affirmative, ſo here we may conceive this negative precept to comprehend alſo affirmative duties to Magiſtrates;

and

and ſo ſhall conſider it both wayes, negatively and affirmatively. And firſt as it is a prohibition: (*Thou ſhalt not raile, or revile, or curſe*) ſo it includes three ſins to be avoyded.

Firſt, it is *Contra reſiſtentiam in factis*, it is againſt reſiſtance in actions; for the Argument is good in Logique, *à minore ad majus*, we muſt not revile, or curſe in words, therefore we muſt not reſiſt in actions.

There is a threefold diſtinction of reſiſtance obſerved by ſome, One is *Præcepta negligendo*, by neglecting commands; For this is a kind of reſiſtance.

A ſecond *Peter Martyr* obſerves, *Fraude* by deceiving or miſ-informing Princes or Rulers, for ſuch abuſe is indeed no better than an unfriendly oppoſition, and may come in (rightly underſtood) under the title of reſiſtance.

A third is, *aperta vi*, by open violence, & this is ſurely prohibited incluſively by Gods Cõmandement, *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods*, as it is expreſly by S. *Paul*, whoſoever reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, *Rom.* 13. 12. Rebellion againſt authority, which God hath ſet over men is contrary to his precept, to the practice of all his Servants. If indeed ſuch earthly gods and rulers there ſhall be, who ſhall impoſe impious or diſhoneſt commands, contradictory to the Laws of God, it is then no breach of this Comman-

dement to diſobey him; for then they ceaſe to bee called Gods properly, they are rather Diabolicall; the Immortall God is rather to be obeyed than they, according to the determination of the Apoſtles, *It is better to obey God than man*, *Acts* 4.19. Yet even then find we not reſiſtance countenanced againſt them in private men: Much difference and many reſtrictions there are amongſt the Caſuiſts, how far the whole Civill State united in it ſelfe, may oppoſe the ſupreame Ruler; but all agree upon ſuch caſes only as can hardly be imagined, to fall out in Chriſtian Common-wealthes.

If there be any ſuch reſiſtance tolerable it muſt be ſay they Firſt, where there is direct and abſolute Tyranny executed upon Lives and Conſciences.

Secondly, where there is flat Idolatry introduced by force.

Thirdly, where there is none other refuge left, but reſiſtance; neither flight nor ſuffering, and in theſe caſes (which God forbid ſhould ever go further than ſuppoſition) there are ſo many cautions added for moderation, and againſt revenge, that they who maintaine reſiſtance lawfull, yet might aſwell conclude it impoſſible to be merited, unfit to be executed. But as for us who are but private perſons, there is no difficulty but that we

may

may reſolve againſt all reſiſtance, without an extraordinary perſcription. The *Lacedemonian* reſolution, becomes Chriſtians to their Rulers. *Si duriora morte imperetis, potius moriemur*, if yee command things harder than death we will rather dye: There is no allowance of offence, or oppoſition againſt thoſe whom God hath ſet over us: the Primitive Chriſtians have no armes but *preces & lachrymæ* againſt their furious perſecuting Magiſtrates. Saint *Ambroſe* uſeth no other force but of his ſtrongeſt Petitions, *Rogamus Auguſte non pugnamus*: Surely there is no reſiſting the Ordinance of God: that is the firſt thing included in the prohibition.

Secondly, as it is a negative precept, ſo it forbids *maledicentiam in verbis*, railing or reviling in words, God hath not allowed man a liberty of reviling his neighbour, his equall; nor are mens tongues at their own command ſo abſolutely as to vent that which their malice or virulency ſhall dictate againſt any man: for did not the Law of man take cognizance of their ſlanders, yet if they ſhall give account of every idle word, much more of every malignant and ſlanderous word againſt their brethren. The curſed ſpeaker is a greater enemy to himſelfe, than thoſe he curſeth. But needs muſt it be more blameable againſt publique Magiſtracy, then particular perſons;

for

for there the Magiſtrates reſemblance to God, makes the injury reflect on him. He that ſpeaketh evill of Rulers, ſpeaketh not evill of man but God, and therefore it is called no leſſe than βλασφημία plaſphemy in Scripture. Thoſe whom God hath ſet in Authority, he would not have ſubjected to the ſcurrilous tongues of railours, no more than he would have his own name blaſphemed: Saint *Jude* therefore makes thoſe ἐνυπνιαζομένους (thoſe filthy dreamers as we tranſlate it) the worſt of men who ſpeake evill of dignities: *Michael* the Archangell (ſaith he) durſt not bring a railing accuſation againſt the Devill. We never find the Saints of God, though never ſo highly provoked, uttering bitter words againſt the higher powers, not *Moſes* againſt *Pharoah*, not the three Children againſt *Nabuchadnezzar*, when the Furnace is prepared, but *O King live for ever*. We heare not our Saviour exclaiming againſt *Herod*, or *Pilate* condemning him; not *Paul* ſpeaking to *Feſtus* in other tearmes when he ſaith he is mad, then in that mild reply, *I am not mad moſt noble Feſtus*: Once when he ſeemed to the ſtanders by to forget himſelfe, he recollecteth himſelfe with this Text of mine, *I wot not brethren that he was the high Prieſt*, for it is written, *thou ſhalt not ſpeak evill of the Ruler of thy people Acts* 23 4. a great difference there is amongſt Expoſitors, upon thoſe words

of

of *Paul*, which are partly quoted from my Text, and therefore I ſhall ſhortly indeavour to cleere them. He had called *Ananias* the High Prieſt whited wall, becauſe he had commanded him to be ſmitten, and being rebuked by the ſtanders by for reviling Gods High Prieſt (for ſo they called *Ananias*) he anſwers, I knew not, brethren, that he was the High Prieſt, for it is, *&c.* Some ſay his meaning was, that he did not regard or conſider him as the High Prieſt: others, that he did not account him worthy to bee the High Prieſt: others, that he plainly meant he did not know him to be the High Prieſt, for it was poſſible he might miſtake: The chiefe Captaine ſitting there alſo in judicature, and the High Prieſt not in his Prieſtly habit, which ſhould diſtinguiſh him from others; ſo that *Pauls* anſwer to them conſiſts of two parts. Firſt, an acknowledgement of his ignorance, that he knew him not.

Secondly, a deniall that he did raile at all, for he knew that there was a law againſt that: as if he ſhould ſay, I did not (I confeſſe brethren) know that he was ſo great a Magiſtrate as the High Prieſt, yet be he ſo, as I know him to be a Judge I did not raile upon him, though I ſharply reprehended his injuſtice towards me, for I know very well I ſhould not revile the Ruler of the people.

Reprehenſions there may be of Rulers, but no reviling, juſt charges or accuſations againſt them, but without rayling or curſing; All manner of rayling againſt them is here prohibited, be it in ſecret murmured amongſt friends, by ſtil detraction: or ſecondly, be it openly before many, and that either by traducing them before others, or impudent reviling them to their own faces, as *Shimeis* was to *David*, all theſe are here forbidden, *Thou ſhalt not*, &c.

How can we then but from hence taxe and condemne three ſorts of breakers of this Law?

Firſt, even thoſe of the Miniſtry, who take too free a liberty of traducing, if not the higheſt Magiſtrate, yet at leaſt inferior rulers, both Eccleſiaſticall and Civill, in rude and homely language. It was never the leſſon their Maſter taught them to mixe their owne virulency with preaching the Goſpell. It is true the Miniſter of the Goſpell, who will be faithfull, muſt admoniſh the blamable Magiſtrate, hee muſt boldly exhort, rebuke, convince him; *Elias* may reprove *Ahab* to his face, and *John Baptiſt* doth well to tell *Herod* plainly it is not lawfull for him to have his brothers wife; *Nathan* may come and tell *David*, *Thou art the man*; and *Ambroſe* boldly taxe the Emperour *Theodoſius*. But much caution there is neceſſary in ſuch reprehenſions of Princes and Rulers, they muſt not

not be for ſuſpitions or jealouſies, or ſuppoſed faults or ſlighter error, but for enormous & apparant ſins, for ſuch there were in all thoſe we inſtanced: Open Idolatry and oppreſſion in *Ahab*; Inceſt in *Herod*, Adultery and Murder in *David*; Injuſt tyranny in executing many Innocents in *Theodoſius*: The ſinnes of Rulers muſt be very evident, ere the pulpit taxe them.

Secondly, there muſt be diſtinction made betwixt the perſons & their faults, the perſons of Magiſtrats muſt be ſpared (*for they are called Gods*) while their ſins are taxed.

Thirdly, there muſt be diſcretion uſed, no bitterneſſe or unmannerly termes, no railing or reviling.

Fourthly, it ſhould be *coram* too before them, as all thoſe reprehenſions were. Miniſteriall reprehenſions muſt not degenerate in *tribunitios clamores*, be turned into popular clamors; the people not be rated for the ſins of their Governors, and the Magiſtrates faults be aggravated before thoſe who are not to redreſſe them To exceed theſe limits, is an unhappy breach of this Law, with which our Churches have lately rung too loud, ſo that we had need have it the Mottoe of our Pulpits, *Thou ſhalt not*, &c.

Secondly, this muſt alſo condemne the ſcurrilous generation of Libellers, who taking advantage of the

freedome of our times (of which we ſhould make better uſe) have vented their railing invective Pamphlets againſt many ſorts of Magiſtrates; were the accuſations never ſo juſt, the crimes never ſo odious, yet could not theſe men be juſtified in their bitternes; which exceeds the bounds of Chriſtianity, of Common humanity it ſelfe; the Devill that great accuſer durſt not have brought ſuch railing accuſations againſt *Michael*. Theſe muſt needs ſtand guilty of the breach of this injunction.

Thirdly, It muſt alſo reprehend thoſe who in their Common diſcourſes make themſelvs too eager Cenſurers of the actions of the Higher Powers; tongues are not left at liberty to accuſe and Cenſure as they pleaſe, the proceedings of the Superiors.

It was indeed a noble and generous ſpeech of that *Roman* Emperour *Auguſt*. *In libera Civitate liberas linguas eſſe oportere*, That in a free State tongues ſhould be at liberty, and a happineſſe truely accounted by the Hiſtorian of his Times; *Ubi ſentire quicquid velis, & quicquid ſentis dicere licet*; When men may think what they pleaſe, and ſpeake what they think: nor can we but admire the lenity of thoſe Chriſtian Emperors, *Theodoſius* and *Honorius*, & *Arcadius*, who would have no man puniſhed for ſpeaking evill of them, for *Si ex levitate profectum, eſt contemnendum; Si ex inſania, mi-*

*miſeratione digniſsimum; ſi ab injuria, remittendum*: if it proceed from lightneſſe, or vanity, it is to be deſpiſed; if from madneſſe, it is to be pittyed; if from malice, to be forgiven: But notwithſtanding ſuch indulgence (whereof our times have had a ſhare) Chriſtians muſt know not to abuſe their liberty: if they ſtretch it to traduce and cenſure thoſe who are ſet over them, they uſe it for a cloake of malicioufneſſe, and breake that peremptory Law, which expreſſely ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not revile*, &c.

There is yet more in this Precept: for as it forbids reſiſtance in act and railing in words; ſo thirdly, *execrationes in mente*, curſing in the thought of thoſe who are called Gods; malignant conceits of their actions in our breaſts muſt not be entertained, nor evill wiſhes imagined and contrived againſt them; for even the ſoule muſt be ſubject to powers that are ordained of God. *Rom.* 13. 1. They are little beholding to him for reſtraining his tongue, who harbours and frames curſes in his heart: It is the adviſe of the wiſeſt of men, *Eccl.* 10. 20. *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought: and curſe not the rich in thy bedchamber, for a bird of the aire ſhall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter*: that is, thy guilty thoughts may betray thee before thou art aware: for Kings and Magiſtrates have quicke eyes and eares; or at the leaſt

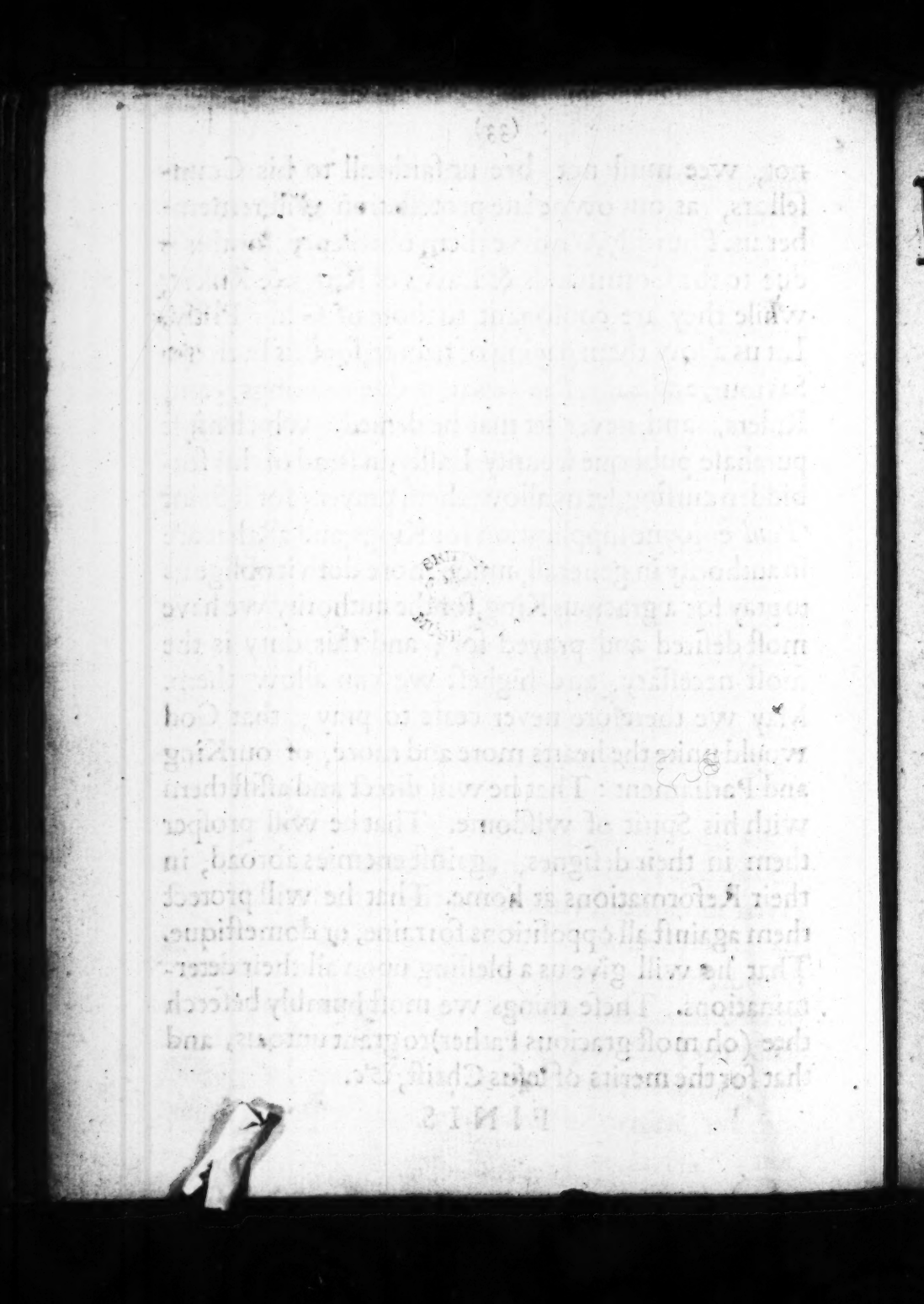
thou maiſt be ſure thy thoughts are knowne to him to whom thou muſt give account of them, and he can never approve them, when there is curſing of his Ordinance.

For us therefore (Beloved) let not our impatience or miſ-underſtanding drive us to ſuch intemperance: let us not harbour any curſing or malignant thought, either againſt him whom God hath made our gracious Soveraigne, or thoſe who under him, he hath deſigned to be the inſtruments of our eſtabliſhment. The meeke and patient Spirit, muſt looke upon the actions of both, as them whom God hath ordained for his good, and in ſtead of theſe requitalls, which are flately forbidden in my Text, railing and curſing (which neither become our mouthes, nor hearts) let us frame our ſelves to the contrary affirmative duties, which are here virtually included, But I muſt but name them.

In oppoſition then to reviling and curſing, there muſt be uſed towards them who are called Gods. Firſt, Subjection, we muſt heartily ſubmit our ſelves to them, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Secondly, honor and reverence, we muſt honor the King, and conſequently all who derive power from him. Thirdly, fidelity, as *Ittai* to *David*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 21. *Where ſoever my Lord the King ſhall be, whether in life or death, even there will thy ſervant be*: and while we are faithfull to him, we cannot,

not, wee muſt not bee unfaithfull to his Counſellors, as our owne late proteſtation will remember us. Fourthly, We owe them obedience, for this is due to the Commands & Laws of Kings & Rulers, while they are conſonant to thoſe of God. Fiftly, Let us allow them paying of tribute, for this both our Saviour, and Saint *Paul* tels us is due to Kings, and Rulers, and never let that be denied, which muſt purchaſe publique ſecurity. Laſtly, in ſtead of this forbidden curſing, let us allow them prayer; for if Saint *Paul* enjoyne ſupplication for Kings, and all that are in authority in generall, much more doth it oblige us to pray for a gracious King, for the authority we have moſt deſired and prayed for; and this duty is the moſt neceſſary, and higheſt we can allow them. May we therefore never ceaſe to pray, that God would unite the hearts more and more, of our King and Parliament: That he will direct and aſſiſt them with his Spirit of wiſdome. That he will proſper them in their deſignes, againſt enemies abroad, in their Reformations at home. That he will protect them againſt all oppoſitions forraine, or domeſtique. That he will give us a bleſſing upon all their determinations. Theſe things we moſt humbly beſeech thee (oh moſt gracious Father) to grant unto us, and that for the merits of Ieſus Chriſt, *&c.*

FINIS.



More happy and joyfull 15

# NEWES

FROM

# IRELAND:

OR,

The victorious Proceedings of the Protestants in that Kingdome, from the 28. day of March, to the 6. day of Aprill, 1642.

SHEWING,

In a most reall and exact Relation, how these four famous Pillars of Protestant Religion, the Earl of *Ormond*, the Lord *Iones*, the Lord *Moor*, Sir *Henrie Tichborne*, and Sir *Richard Greenvile*, with 4000 men, and 6 Field-pieces, gave Battle to the Rebels, neer *Corke*, kild 5000. men, took some of their Commanders Prisoners.

The Rebels being in number 13000. conducted the great Rebell *Desmond*, and the Lord *Mountgarret*; who after a long and tedious Battle were forced to fly, leaving great store of Ammunition behind them, such a tryumphant Victory the Protestants never had, since the Rebellion.

*Whereunto is annexed the Copy of a Letter sent from Mr. Hunt in Ireland, which was read in the Honourable House of Commons, and commanded immediatly to be Printed.*

Hen. Elsing. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON, Printed for *H. London*, 1642.

More happy and joyfull

# NEWES

FROM

# IRELAND:

OR,

The victorious Proceedings of the Protestant
in that Kingdome, from the 23. day of March,
to the 6. day of April, 1642.

BRITISH

In a most joyfull and comfortable manner, how divers
Rebels were slaine by the Lord Lambert, the
Earle of Ormond the Lord Dunsany, Sir
Henry Tichborne, and Sir Richard Grenvile,
with 4000 men, and 6 Field-pieces,
gave Battle to the Rebels, neere
Carlingford, took
three of their Commanders
Prisoners.

The Rebels being Numbered 3000 Foot and 400 Horse, and the Lord Moore, who after
Rebell Dermond, and the Lord Mountgarret; who after
a long and tedious Battle were forced to flye, leaving
great store of Ammunition behind them, such
as Drumm-Vigor the Protestants re-
tired since the Rebellion.

Wherein is declared the Copy of a Letter sent from Mr. Hart to
Ireland, upon occasion of a Honourable Lady of Com-
mon-
Hen. Elsing, Cler.

LONDON: Printed for R. Lambert.

MORE

# JOYFUL AND

## Happy Newes from *Ireland*.

ON the 29. of *March*, the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Mowr*, &c. marched from the City of *Dublin* with 4000. men, and 6 Field-pieces, towards the City of *Cork*, they having intelligence, that 13000. Rebels had beſieged the City, under the Command of Generall *Donnadoff*, but by Gods gracious Providence they were preſented; for the Earl of *Ormond* gave Command, that Sir *Richard Grenvile* ſhould lead the Avantguard of the horſe, conſiſting of 300. To the Avantguard of the Horſe were joyned theſe foot Companies, *to wit*, Colonel *Binleys* Guard, led by his Lieutenant, conſiſting of 300. and 50. foot; af-

ter these marched the Regiment of Sir *Charles Coot*, consisting of 3 English Companies.; after these marched the Regiments of the Earl of *Ormond* : first his his own Companies, then the Lord *Jones* his Companies, next the Lord *Moors*, in all accounted to be 3000.

The Battell was commanded by the Lord *Jones*.

The Reer was commanded by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Sir *Richard Grenvile*, the Army consisted of 40000. and upon the 1. of *Aprill*, our Army had a great Battell with the Rebels, who consisted of 13000. men, which lasted for the space of 3 days; but at last, the Rebels seeing their men fall down so fast among them, retreated back, thinking to escape by sligh, were pursued so close by our light Horses, that they lost in all to the number of 5000. men, of our Party 800. we also obtained 14. Colours, 4. Field-pieces, &c. such a victory they have not had since the Rebellion.

The Battel being ended, our Army returned

turned home with great joy and tryumph, and intend to go forth again upon the 13. or 14. of this month (God willing.)

## *Another famous Battell fought by Sir Richard Grenvile, Captain Barrones, and Captain Ogle, April the 3. 1642.*

UPon the 3. day of *April*, Sir *Richard Grenvile*, &c. marched towards the City of *Kildare*, with 1000. men; but they had Battell given them by 300. Rebels, and after a long and tedious fight, the Rebels fled; in this Battel were slain 1400. of the Rebels, with very little losse of our side.

The Earl of *Cork* and Collonel *Monro* hath given given the Rebels another great Overthrow, hard by Kingsaile, and hath taken two Castles from them, but the Rebels increase in abundance, and receive Aid and Ammunition from forreign Parts daily, and commit most vild

and

and cruell Outrages upon the poor *Protestants*, wheresoever they come.

We want both men and money; for we can hardly get any to pay our Souldiers: Yet are they well content with what they have, behaving themselves very well, and fighting against our Foes with most puissant Courage, the like were never known; The God of Heaven send us many such Victories, that the Rebels may be suddenly subdued.

The Lord President of *Munster*, and 1500. *English* hath given the Rebels a great Overthrow before *Kildare*, and slew two thousand of them.



very

*Good Newes from Ireland, read in the Honourable House of Commons, and commanded immediately to be Printed.*

*SIR,*

I Have written by the two laſt Poſts, and now I have gotten a lame hand, but having good *Newes*, it ſhall trot to impart it unto you.

The laſt Saturday, the Lord *Moor*, and Sir *Henry Titchburn* ſallyed out of the town, and fell upon the enemies, and drove them out of their trenches, and raiſ'd their Siege, ſlew above 350. of their men, and took many of their Chief Officers, and have relieved themſelves bravely, and took 150. of their Muskets, and a field full of Pikes, we having loſt, as ſom affirme, no men. Here are ſome of our Captains come by Land, ſo that this *Newes* is true.

Upon *Monday* our forces went out, four thouſand foot, and 500 Horſe, they are already within 5 miles of *Tredagh*, by

by the way, Lieutenant Colonell *Read* came in to our men, and submitted, if he had not done it, he could not have fled: he is sent hither, and lodged in the Castle I do beleeve we shal now get good store of corn out of the Countrey, which wil keep the price from rising. Our men are not expected home this week, pray God keep them safe. Sir *Rhilomy O Neal* was in the Battle, but was fain to fly.

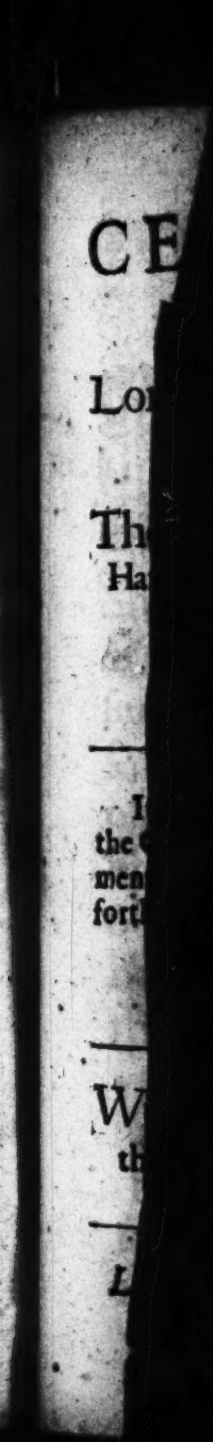
*With my true love, I rest, Your affectionate Friend.*

R. Hunt.

It is this Day Ordered, that this Letter be forthwith Printed.

*Hen. Elsing, Cleric. Parl. D. Com.*

FINIS.



# A CERTIFICATE FROM THE Lord *Moor* and Sir *Henry Titchborne*,

Shewing

The certainty of the cleering of the Harbour, and Country, twenty miles about *Tredagh*, with the taking of *Bewly* and *Stameene* Caſtles, from the Rebels.

---

It is ordered this ſeventh day of *April*, 1642. By the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, that this Certificate be forthwith Printed.

*Iohn White.*

---

Whereunto is added, Divers overthrowes given at ſundry times to the Rebels.

---

*London*, Printed for *Joſeph Hunſcott*. 1642.

A

# CERTIFICATE

FROM

Lord Aber and Sir Henry Trecothick,

Shewing

The certainty of the clearing of the
Harbour, and Country, twenty miles at out
Wexford, with the taking of Ramyand
Saltees, Castles, from the
Rebels.

---

This ordered this seventh day of April, 1642. By the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning Friends, that this Certificate be forthwith Printed.

John Wilde.

---

Whereupon is added, Letters out of
three parts given to the Rebels.

---

London, Printed for Joseph Hunscott. 1642.

FOr asmuch as we have been long besieged in this Town of *Drogheda*, to the disheartning of the English Shipping to come into the Harbor, or to trafick, or trade hither; which siege we (under God) have now raised, Insomuch that we have possessed our selves of the Towns and Castles of *Bewley* and *Stamerne* on both sides of the mouth of the Harbour, and have burnt *Mornanton*; In all which the enemy formerly lay, and endeavoured to block up the River; and have likewise so beaten the Enemy, that they have no force within 20. miles of this Town, only *Dundalk* is not yet cleered. Now for the encou-

ragement of the Engliſh Shipping and Marchants, we have thought fit to ſignifie thus much, and have ſent this ſmall Ship which we took as a prize, and named (*Gods-Gift*) fraighted by Maſter *James Penteny*, and Mr *George Peppard*, with Hides and Tallow, to inform the Marchants and Marriners of *Cheſter*, and *Lever-pool-water*, that they may freely traffick and trade hither, and may caſt Ankor, between this harbour and *Dublin* free, and without interruption, Dated at *Drogheda* the 15. of *March*. 1641.

Signed, *Moore*,

*Hen. Titchborne*.

Certain

## Certain overthrowes given to the Rebels.

AT ſeverall times before the 19 of *January*, our people about *Antrim* had killed of the Rebels at leaſt 700: the 26. of *February*, there came 8000. Rebels, and beleagured the Town of *Antrim* three daies, the third day they made their aſſault upon the Town; the enemies aſſaulted it in 5. ſeverall places, and were beaten back with the loſſe of many common ſouldiers; and in the repulſe two Captains of the Rebels were killed, and one hurt; and many Arms taken, and none of our ſide ſlain, only one hurt in the thigh. This laſt week there came certain news to and from men of good credit, that 400. of Sir *John Clotworthies* Regiment iſſued or ſallied out

upon 5000. of the Rebels, ſlew 500. common men, and ſome Commanders. My Lord *Conaway* is ſafely arrived, and Sir *John Clotworthy* daily expected, who by reaſon of the Scots not arrivall in *Ireland*, when he came into *Scotland* was neceſsitated to go to *Edenborough* to ſee what might be the impediment and cauſe of their long ſtay, that ſo by removing it, and taking them along with him, he might better advance the ſervice which in their abſence and want, could not but languiſh or go on with leſſe ſucceſſe, unleſſe there had been greater forces of our own Nation there.

From

*From Carrickfergus, April 2. 1642.*

*Sir,*

I Wrote to you from *Dublin* two Letters, wherein I ſhewed you the eſtate of this Kingdom at large, and the miſery theſe rebellious people have run themſelves into: But now at this place here is no Aid come over yet, for the Scots have lien this Month within 16 Leagues of this place, and in all this time have not had a winde to bring them over: And when I arrived here ſome 10 dayes ſince, here was not above 700 men, and not Arms for a third part of thoſe neither, nor yet money to pay them; and for my part, I had as little as the leaſt, for I brought but one groat hither: But ſince here is 2 Ships arrived, laden with Ammunition, and 3 Ships laden with Corn from *London*, and my Lord *Conway* and his Troop; ſo now it is ſomewhat amended: But I hope very ſuddenly it will be a great deal better, if once our Ships come with the Scotiſh Forces, and ſome better Governours that will curb theſe Scots; for here hath been great want of good Commanders all this time. But I doubt not, that if the Lord bleſſe us, but that you ſhall ſee this a free Conqueſt in a ſhort time: therefore I could wiſh that you would ſell the houſe at a venture; for if this Kingdom be ſubdued, as I doubt not but that it will, then will here be brave living, and a man with one hundred pounds in his purſe ſhall purchaſe that here,

here, whereupon he may live better than he that hath 100 *per annum* in *England*. Corn is very reasonable now, over it hath been; but the next yeer it will be dear hear, in regard that there hath been none sown since the e Wars; and that that was afore sown, now will be destroyed. And thus desiring you to remember my duty to my mother, I shall ever remain

*Your obedient Son,*

*T. K.*

*March* 25. 1642. *Dublin.*

IT is credibly reported, That Sir *Charles Coot* will march out of *Dublin* with an Army on Monday next to cleare the Country on the other side of *Dublin*.

If we had but men enough to leave in *Dublin* to secure it, and were able to march forth with 10000 men. I think we might go all over *Ireland*; for God hath put such terrour and dread in the hearts of our enemies, that they are afraid to stand against us; for 500 of them will not stand to fight with 100. Our souldiers are all very resolute and couragious, and they want nothing but their pay, which they have not received these seven weeks last past.

FINIS.



17

K.

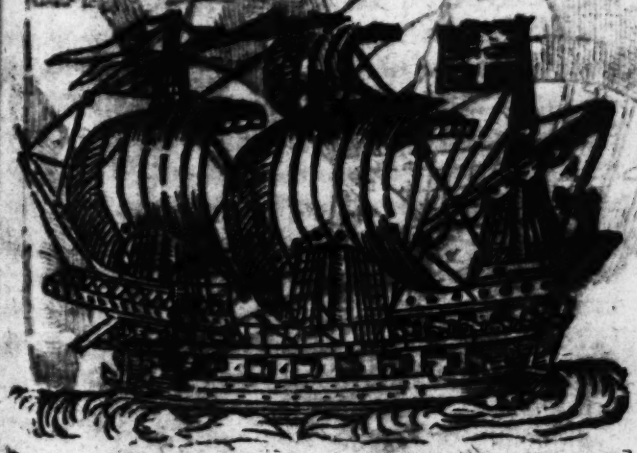
A True and perfect

# RELATION

Of the Apprehension of 5. Fryers, one Pilgrim and three Souldiers; who were all bound for *Ireland* but were stayd and taken at S. *Ives*, in the County of *Cornwall*, by the Vice-Admirall Master *Basset*, and from thence brought up to *London*, with the Master of their Ship, and committed to *Newgate* on Friday the ninth of *April*, 1642.

With the severall names of the Prisoners, and an Order of Parliament concerning the same.

*Henry Elsynge, Cler. D. Parli.*



London Printed for John Wright, 1642.

# A true and perfect Relation of the Apprehension of five Fryers, One Pilgrim, and three Souldiers, &c.

NOt to trouble my Reader with any tedious preamble to little or no purpose, but to come readily and truly to the matter in hand, which being such an extraordinary passage of Gods good providence towards this Land and Nation; in preserving us from the daily Plots and wicked machinations of his and our adversaries. It is not fit it should lye altogether smother'd up in the pit of oblivion; but be divulg'd and spread abroad in each corner of this Kingdome, that so all true hearted Protestants may know, and knowing, may understand how infinitely they are ingaged to blesse God for such wonderfull deliverances, and with *David* extoll his Name, from one generation to another.

It were needlesse to stand upon particulars in a poynt so plaine and obvious to the eye of every faithfull Protestant.

If you aske who's our adversaries, the questi-

on is ſoone anſwered, who? But the Jeſuites, Fryers, Papiſts Prieſts, and others of the wicked adherents to the ſect of *Rome*.

If you aske how this is manifeſted, daily experience proves it; how many belliſh Plots and Conſpiracies hath this infernall tribe hatcht againſt theſe his Majeſties Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſince the beginning of reformation? When the Illuſtrious ſplendor of the Goſpell firſt began to ſhine in our Britiſh Horizon to this preſent, poore afflicted *Ireland* can ſadly witneſſe the truth hereof, whoſe deplorable condition at this time, by the cruell inhumanity and barbarous actions of the blood thirſty Papiſts, againſt the faithfull Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion in that Kingdome, would extract teares from a heart of flint, to heare that ſuch tygers ſhould be coucht under the ſhapes of men, but the particulars of this their tyranny, is well knowne to all men.

I ſhall not therefore inſiſt upon that or any other diſcourſe, but come briefely to this laſt project, hatch by their grand-father the Devill, bleſt by their holy father the Pope, put in practice by his children, the Fryars and Jeſuites; but diſcovered by God, whoſe never ſlumbring eye continually ſees, and ſeeing, derides all ſuch fooliſh combinations againſt his Church and people, and now brought to light, that all true Chriſtians and ſubjects may bee thankfull

full for the ſame, and praiſe the great Name of the Lord for ever and ever.

In March laſt 1642, a certaine ſhip under the conduct of *Patrick Symet* who was Maſter thereof, ſhould have tranſported it into *Ireland*, with theſe paſſengers, whoſe names are as followeth, *Thomas Faſtell*, *Teage Barr*, *Patrick Carr*, *Richard Birke*, *Francis Canthon*, Fryars; *Malathyn Goggon* Pilgrim; *Thomas Moham*, *Bryant Mackall Greehall*, *Daniel Brianon* Souldiers.

This goodly company being minded to viſit their traitorous Confederates in *Ireland*, upon what enterpriſe is not yet knowne, untill the wiſedome of the Parliament ſhall further examine the buſineſſe; but being greatly ſuſpected, and not without good cauſe, both ſhippe and paſſengers were ſtayd in their journey at Saint *Ives* in *Cornwall*, by the Vice-Admirall *M. Baſſet*, and information preſently given to the Parliament, who immediatly made an Order, directed to the Sheriffes of each County, to provide ſtron guards for their ſafe conduct to *London*, which was accordingly performed, and they committed to New-gate on Friday the 9 of Aprill 1642, where now they remaine expecting the pleaſure of that Honorable Aſſembly for their further tryall.

A true Coppy of which order is here inſerted.

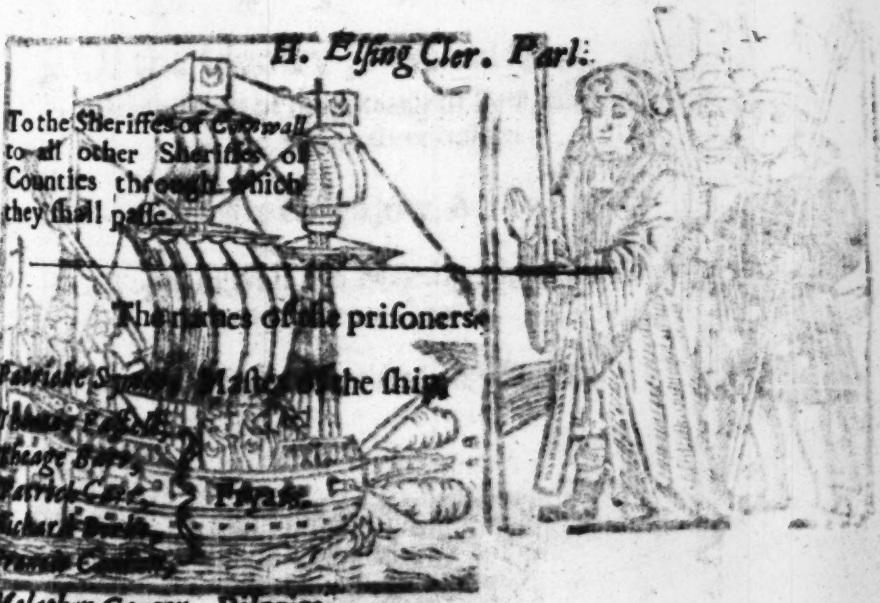
*Die*

*Die Veneris 4 die Martii* 1641.

IT is this day ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, that the Master of the ship, and the five Fryars, a Pilgrim, three Souldiers, and what others prisoners soever shall bee delivered unto him by the Vice-Admirall or his deputy, were bound for *Ireland*, and taken at *St. Ives* in the County of *Cornwall*, by the said Vice-Admirall Master *Basset*, bee forthwith sent for up, and the severall Sheriffes of every County (through which they are to passe) are hereby required to provide strong and sufficient guardes for the conducting of the said persons in safe custody through their severall Counties

to

to *London*, And the Sheriffe of *Cornwall* ordered to receive the ſaid priſoners at the Towne of *Redruth*, where they now are.




*Malathyn Gaggon*, Pilgrim.

*Thomas Moham*,
*Bryant Mackall Greahall*,
*Daniel Brianon*,
} Souldiers.

FINIS.





FINIS.

18

# The humble PETITION

## Of the Gentry, Miniſters, and Freeholders of the County of *York*, aſſembled at the Aſſizes there holden.

Preſented to His Majeſty, April 5. 1642.

Together with His Majeſties Speech at the preſenting thereof.

And His gracious Anſwer thereunto.

Firſt Printed at *York*, and now Reprinted in *London*, by the ſame Copy, for *Charles Greene*.
*MDCXLII.*

# *To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

The humble Petition of the Gentry, Miniſters, and Freeholders of the County of *York* now aſſembled at the Aſſizes there holden,

*Moſt humbly ſheweth:*

THat, although the piercing anguiſh of our Souls, proceding from the generall diſtractions of this Kingdom, be eaſed by the comfort of your Majeſties Royall Preſence, and gracious Confidence in the Affections of this County, which hath filled our Hearts with Hopes, and our Tongues with Ioy, yet the fellow-feeling of the Paſſionate Sorrows, and heart-breaking Apprehenſions which overwhelmes the other parts of this afflicted Kingdom, do inforce us (after the humble tender of our Lives and Fortunes, for the Safety and Aſſurance of your Majeſties Royall Perſon, Crown, Honor and Eſtate, juſt Prerogative and Soveraignty, in any capacity wherein we may ſerve your Majeſtie according to the Laws) to follow that Sacrifice of bounden duty, with our earneſt Prayers and Petitions which ſhall not cry in your Princely Ears for help to almoſt-ruined *Ireland*, nor implore your Majeſties Concurrence for propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, and ſuppreſſion of Popery, ſince your Majeſties Gracious Declaration of your Self, in thoſe particulers, renders it an unpardonable Crime to deſire further Aſſurance, or Addition to your Majeſties own words, Sacred before God and Man; But emboldned by your Royall Reſolution declared, to take away not onely the juſt Feares, but alſo the Jealouſies of your loyall Subjects, and inforced by that infallible Oracle of Truth, That a Kingdom divided cannot ſtand: We, from the center of every one

of our hearts, most earnestly supplicate, That your Majestie (being most interessed in the flourishing State and Vnion of your Dominions, and by long experience in Government, best acquainted with Prevention of Dangers and Remedy of Evils) will be graciously pleased to declare such fit Means & Expedients as may take away all Distances and Mis-understandings betwixt Your Majestie and Your great Counsell; to whom we will also addresse our selves for such endeavours, on their parts, as may beget in Your Majestie a confidence in their Councels, and that blessed Vnion so necessary to this perplexed Kingdom, and most desired by us, and all Your Majesties loving and faithfull Subjects.

*And your Petitioners shall ever pray for your Majesties long and prosperous Reign, &c.*

## 5. Aprilis, 1642.

His Majesties Speech to the Sheriffe, Gentry, Ministery, and Freeholders of the County of *Yorke*, when they presented to Him their Petition.

Mr. Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,

*I Beleeve you expect not a present and particular Answer to your Petition, because it is now unto Me: Onely in generall I must tell you, That I see by it, that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the Affections of this County to my Person and State; and I assure you that I will not*

not deceive your Confidence which at this time you have declared in your Petition, to have in Me. And I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken Grounds, wherein Petitions have been to me since I came to this place: Concerning which, let me observe unto you, That my Answers were to clear these mistakings; for I never did goe about to punish or discourage them from Petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the subject did not agree with my Sense; Where within the memory of man, people have been discouraged, and threatned to be punished for Petitions.

I observe that your Petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your owne good, which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to do; and therfore that you may not fare the worse for your Modesty, I will put you in minde of three particulars, which I conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The first is concerning your trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number, for which, I confesse to stand engaged by promise to you, which I had performed long since, if I had been put in mind of it: And now I tell you, Shew me but the Way, and (when you shall think fit) I shall instantly reduce them to that Number, which I promised you two yeers agoe.

The second is, That which is owing to this County for Billet-money; The truth is, That for the present I cannot repay it; Onely I will say this, That if all the Water had gone to the right Mill (upon my word) you had been long agoe satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions which way you will advise, and assist Me to comply with the Engagements to you in this point.

The third is, That for which I was petitioned as I came up the last yeer, both by the Lord Major and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as I went

Southward; And that is, concerning the Court of York. And first let Me tell you, That as yet I know no Legall Diſſolution of it, for hitherto formally there is nothing come to Me, either directly, or indirectly, for the taking it away: therefore I may ſay, It is rather ſhaken in pieces, then diſſolved. Now my Deſire is, in compliance to what I anſwered the laſt yeer unto the ſeverall Petitions delivered to Me upon this ſubject, That you would conſult and agree among your ſelves, in what manner you would have the Court eſtabliſhed, moſt to your owne contentments, and to the good of all theſe Northern parts, in ſuch a Legall way, as that it may not juſtly be excepted againſt; and I aſſure you, in the word of an honeſt Man, that you ſhall not blame Me, if you have not full ſatisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye ſhall have a particular Anſwer to your Petition, which ſhall bee ſuch a One as I am confident will give you good ſatisfaction, and put you into ſuch a way, as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdome.

HIS

# HIS MAIESTIES
# ANSWER

## To the aforesaid Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders of the County of *York*.

## At the Court at *York*, April 7. 1642.

*His Majestie, according to His Promise made to you at the delivery of this Petition, hath commanded me to subscribe this His Answer.*

IN the first place, He is glad to see, That what you say concerning the Relief of His distressed Subjects in *Ireland*, and the Propagation of the true Religion amongst us, against all Superstition of Popery, is onely to shew your Confidence in his princely Word, wherein He again hath commanded me to assure you, That He will neither deceive your trust, nor wrong Himselfe so much as not to be very punctuall in performance of the Engagemẽts He hath already made concerning those particulars, which besides the performance of His Word (which He holds most deer unto him) his own Inclinations naturally induce Him unto.

Now

Now concerning the Prayer of your Petition, His Majeſtie doth graciouſly interpret, That your deſiring Him to declare ſuch fit means and expedients as may take away all Diſtance and Miſunderſtandings betwixt His Majeſtie and His great Councell, is no otherwiſe then to have the more authentique ground, and the better direction which way to carry your ſelves in your Addreſſes to the Parliament for that effect. And therefore His Majeſtie aſſures you, That not only the beſt, but (as He conceives) the ſole way for this good Underſtanding between His Majeſtie and His Parliament (which He aſſures you that He no leſſe deſires then your ſelves) is, That the Parliament will take His Majeſties Meſſage of the twentieth of January laſt into conſideration ſpeedily, ſeriouſly, and effectually; and that the *Militia* of this Kingdom may be ſetled by Act of Parliament, according to His Majeſties explanation of His Anſwer concerning the *Militia*, which He made in the Anſwer He returned to both Houſes, upon the Petition preſented to Him the 26. of March laſt. And therefore His Majeſtie deſires you, to take thoſe Anſwers and that Meſſage into your ſerious Conſideration, and thereupon to proceed (according to the intimation in your Petition) in your Addreſſes to the Parliament, as you ſhall judge fitteſt for the good of this Kingdom, and the expreſſions of your Duty and Affection to His Majeſties Perſon and State.

*Signed by Mr. Secretary* Nicholas.

FINIS.

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REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

A 19

# DISCREET AND IVDICIOVS DISCOVRSE

BETWEENE

# VVISDOME AND PIETIE,

## Two worthy Members.

Wherein is declared the Power and Iurisdiction of Parliaments in their proceedings, and in the alteration of Church Government.

Written by R. P.

Printed at *London* 1642.



# A discreet and judicious Discourse, betweene WISDOME and PIETY, two worthy Members.

*Piety.* SIr, I rejoyce much at our so happy meeting in this place; I hope leisure will now permit us to conferre of these times, and the proceedings of the High Court of Parliament, in setling the disorders in this State; and such a forme of governement in the Church, as I hope will be congruent to the sence and true meaning of the Word of God.

*Wisdome.* Sir, I joy as much as you for our meeting, and I hope we may spend a little time in discourse of those things you have mentioned; I conceive it will not be lost time, nor much hinderance to our other occasions. And under favour Sir, pray what thinke you of the proceedings of the Parliament, concerning Church Governement, and Ecclesiasticall discipline.

*Piety.* A Parliament, pray Sir, what meane you by the word, and what is the signification thereof?

*Wisdome.* The word is compounded of, and derived from the *French* and *Latine* words; as I conceive, *Parle Mentis*, which I understand signifies a

ſpeech of the Minde, contracted Parlement or Parliament; and I meane thereby a Councell of grave and learned men, congregated and aſſembled by their Princes command and authority, to conſult and debate freely, ſpeaking clearely what is their minde and intentions, of ſuch things tending to the ſafety and proſperity of their King and Countrey, and what forme of Governement is meeteſt to bee uſed in the Church, in the exerciſe of Religion.

*Piety.* I conceive your definition of the word is good, but I deſire to know whether it bee in the power of ſuch a Councell or Parliament, to alter the Governement of a Church, eſtabliſhed and confirmed for ſeverall ages together in a Kingdome, both by the Princes thereof ſucceſſively, and a whole Councell of State gathered together, and aſſembled in Parliament.

*Wiſdome.* To anſwer your requeſt: I conceive it is in the power of a Parliament, with their Princes conſent, to alter the Governement of the Church; I can give you inſtances of the ſame: The Romiſh Religion was a long time in this Kingdome practiſed and profeſſed, confirmed by ſeverall Kings and Parliaments of this Land, untill the 28. yeare of the raigne of *Henry* 8. Then did that Prince and his Parliament begin to alter the Governement of the Church, and in the 31. of his raigne hee perfected his intentions in a totall change of the Government thereof: Aboliſhed and demoliſhed all places of worſhip, according to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *Rome*, as Abbies, Monaſteries, Priories,

Priories, Nunneries, and the like: the lands and demeanes appertaining to the ſame were given to the Crown; as alſo the worſhip it ſelfe. This forme of Government (attended onely with ſome Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*) continued this Kings raigne till *Edward* 6. in whoſe raigne was a further and more perfecter change in the Governement of the Church then before. Now was Bibles and other Divine bookes ordained by the King and his great Councell to bee tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue; a forme of Common-prayer made and confirmed by Parliament to bee uſed in the *Engliſh* tongue; the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme, uſed according as in the Ancient and Primitive Church; which forme of government and worſhip of God is now called the Proteſtant Religion. This Government and Alteration continued but a ſmall time, till the raigne of Queene *Mary*, who againe reduced Popery to its height in this Kingdome. This change continued till Queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory, who againe ſet up the Proteſtant Church, which hath ever ſince till of late flouriſhed in this Kingdome; and thus you plainly ſee a Parliament may with the conſent of their Prince, alter the Government of the Church, and the diſcipline thereof, to that forme which the Prince ſtands moſt affected too.

*Piety.* But pray Sir, if a Catholique Prince come to raigne over a Kingdome, wherein the Proteſtant Religion is altogether profeſſed and eſtabliſhed: Is it then in the power of the Parliament, without the

consent of the King, to make Lawes and Ordinances for the confirmation of their Religion, in the Government, Doctrine, and Discipline thereof.

*Wisdome.* This question is difficult to be resolved, and I cannot punctually determine thereof; but I conceive, if over such a State there bee such a Prince, that is not a native of that Kingdome, a Parliament of the whole State assembled, may without his consent establish and confirme the ancient Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome, for the Government of the Church and State. But whether it be so, if a native Prince, I cannot certainly resolve.

*Piety.* I verily beleeve the Parliament hath power and authority to change upon occasion the Government of the Church in contrary Religions, as before is instanced; but I am not yet satisfied whether a Parliament, either with consent of the Prince, or without, can alter a forme of Government established in a Kingdome, concerning one Religion, be it the Protestant or other.

*Wisdome.* To answer this, I conceive the Doctrine of the Church cannot be altered, for then we doe change our Religion, and are not of the same as before, but of a new; but the Government and Discipline of a Church may be changed, according as the wisdome and policy of the State shall finde the same convenient or inconvenient, hurtfull or commodious for the same.

*Piety.* Nay, the Titles, Places and Offices of men of holy Order be at the pleasure of a Parliament, changed, or quite taken away; being of such antiqui-

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ty in the Church, as Lord Bishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deanes, Prebends, and the like?

*Wisdome.* I conceive their Titles may bee changed, or taken away; as Lords Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. for no such names are to be found in the Scripture, or by the same warranted: Their places of both Temporall and spirituall Jurisdiction (as they are made the onely Governours of the Church and of the State too) may if a State finde them hurtfull and prejudiciall to the same, be taken away and changed; but for their Spirituall functions and offices of Bishops or Presbyters, I conceive the same cannot be changed or taken away with safety or security: But the sole power and jurisdiction in government of the Church may be taken from particular persons, (and assistance of grave Divines joyned with them in the same) as the wisdome of the Parliament shall seeme meet.

*Will.* But may a State Politique and Civill change the government of the Church, and establish another forme of government in the same, without advise of a Councell or Synod of Divines that are grave and learned, elected and chosen out of every County of the Kingdome, and their consents to the change of government in the Church?

*Wisdome.* I conceive the Parliament, as it is an Assembly of Lay men, and none of them in holy Order, cannot of its selfe change the government of a Church, without advise and consent of the Clergy: But I beleeve it is in the sole power of Parliament to make choyce of such Divines as shall informe

informe them concerning what Government and Diſcipline is moſt convenient for the Church, and what not.

*Piety.* Then cannot a Synod or Convocation of the Clergy be aſſembled without authority of Parliament, and what Ordinances is made in the ſame by them are of no validity, without confirmation by the King and Parliament.

*Wiſdome.* No truly, I beleeve there cannot; and what is done by a Synod or Convocation, without conſent and confirmation of King and Parliament, is not binding to the Subject. And now thanking you lovingly for your good diſcourſe, I muſt take my leave of you till another time; wiſhing all things may be done in Parliament to the honour of God, firme eſtabliſhment of true Religion, and ſuch a forme of government in the Church, as may be agreeable to the Word of God, and the ſetling of peace and unity in all his Majeſties Kingdomes.

*Piety.* Amen. God be with you Sir till our next meeting.

*Wiſdome.* I thanke you heartily.

FINIS.

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# A LETTER

*WRITTEN FROM*
Sir VVILLIAM PARSONS,
One of the Lord Juſtices of *IRELAND*,

TO
Sir ROBERT PYE,
A worthy Knight of the Honourable
Houſe of Commons:

Publiſhed by his conſent, and other
Members of the ſaid Commons Houſe.

*This Letter was received by Sir* Robert Pye,
*the 9. of April.*

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*LONDON*,
Printed for JOHN BARTLET. 1642.

# A LETTER

# A LETTER VVRITTEN from Sir VVIL: PARSONS,

One of the Lo: Juſtices in Ireland,

to Sir HENRY PYE, a worthy Knight of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

Honoured Sir,

IN ſome late Letters, I troubled you with ſome of the frowning occurrents of this place, wherein I have had a heavy ſhare, as well of the ſufferings in the ill, as in my labours to fore-lay and prevent the worſt: Which labour, I muſt ſay, God hath wonderfully bleſt; In ſo much as now I dare avow, if England for their owne good much more then ours, will ſet in roundly to enable us under a good Governour, (if God have ſo ordained us one) we will make the miſchiefes we have ſuffered, the greateſt addition to the glory, ſecurity, and happineſſe of

England, that ever they had by any particular action: For beſides that, we will for ever free them from the diſhonours and dammages both in men and treaſure which they have from Age to Age endured from, and by occaſion of this diſloyall and malignant people, the entire benefit of this unnaturall and high rebellion, ſhall in a manner redound to themſelves, by ſetling here very great multitudes of the Engliſh, which this Iſland can well receive, and give them happy and plentifull being, if God guide the conduct and concluſion of this Warre aright. I entreat you Sir conſider, if the Iriſh had gained the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, (which nothing could have hindred but the bleſſed ſudden diſcovery) and therein all the Kings Armes and Munition, and therewithall the Port-townes and Shipping of Ireland, and out of that ſtrength had ſent 30000. men into England, as they entended; whether their ravenage (wherein they excell all men) would not have beene more loſſe to England, before they could have found competent reſiſtance, then all the money comes to, which they are now to ſend us, to reduce Ireland, and make it theirs, in a more firme way then ever it was ſince the Conqueſt. If you be ſparing to us this Summer, you hurt your ſelves and the cauſe; And therefore to our ſpeedy and round ſupplyes, I pray you put your helping hand in this act of reducement, which muſt at laſt have beene done with infinite more difficul-

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ty and charge, after the above mentioned horrible losse.

I doubt not but by late Letters you have heard that we have beaten the Enemy from *Tredagh*: Now I must tell you, that a partie of that late besieged garrison, with the helpe of five hundred men sent from hence, have marched and taken the Port-towne of *Dondalke*, sixteene miles North-wards from *Tredagh*, and there beaten out a thousand Rebels, and taken the little Ordnance they had. We want men and money extreamly; when they come, I undertake we shall not mis-apply them. It is marvellous to see how spiritfull our few souldiers that have health are, while we are not able to put shooes on their feet, clothes on their backs, or meat in their bellies, save herrings, and some salt beefe: Neither have we any money at all, which is the life of Warre. Out of all which defects, our souldiers doe so die daily before our faces, besides what are slaine, as without speedy supplies, we shall not onely be frustrated in our promising beginnings, but speedily sink into a desperate danger of utter losse.

I find by your late Letter to the Dutchesse, that you heare there, that the Earle of *Antrim* is in rebellion; I assure you Sir, it is not so, neither I hope will be; though truly through these tumults, cutting betweene him and his late meanes here, he is now in great and pinching want; And, which grieves me more, the Dutchesse

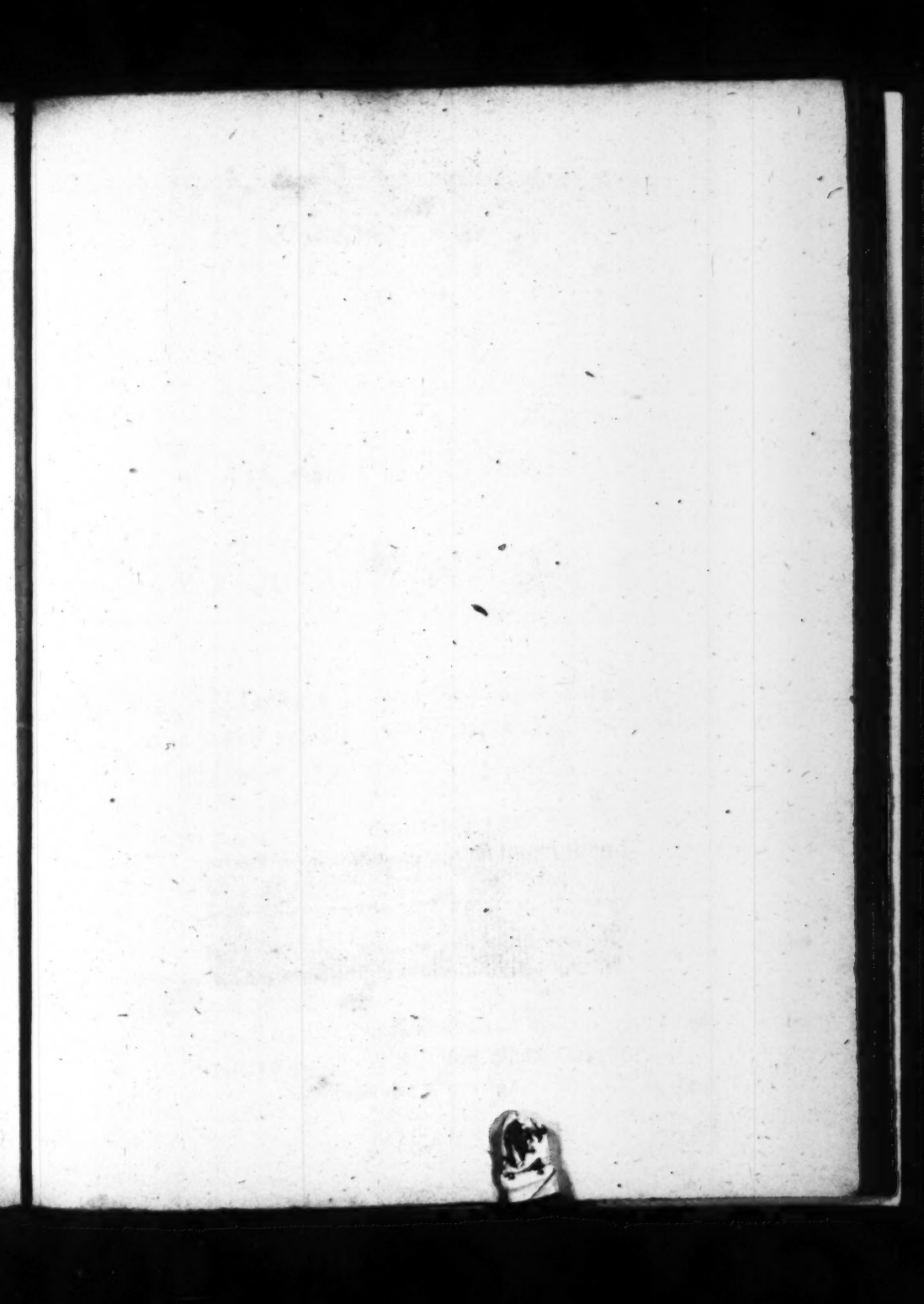
cheſſe ſuffers very lamentably in it. For my part I have helped her what I could, but being depriued wholly of my poore eſtate by this rebellion, I am able to doe no more: Hereof I deſire you and her friends there to be ſenſible, and take it for a truth from.

1. Apr.
1642.

*Your aſſured friend and ſervant,*

VVm Parsons.

FINIS.





CERTAINE

# OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Duty

# OF LOVE,

AND OF

# THE CONTRARY EVILL,

# Vncharitableneſſe.

VVritten by *Thomas Deveniſh.*

1 Cor. 13. 1.

*Though I ſpeake with the tongue of men and Angels, and have not Charity, I am become as a ſounding Braſſe, or as a tinckling Cymball.*

*LONDON.*

Printed by *R. Oulton* and *G. Dexter*, for *William Larnar*, 1641.

# OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Diseases

OF THE

AND OF

THE CONTRARY PARTS

# Vncharitableness

VVritten by a Learned Preacher.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Though I speake with the tongues of men and Angels, and have not Charity, I am become as a sounding Brasse, or a tinckling Cymbal.



LONDON,

Printed by T. Orwin and G. Dexter, for

TO THE

# HONOURABLE

*Denzil Hollis* Esquire,

Brother to the Right Honourable the now Earle of *CLARE*, all *Grace* here, and *Glory* hereafter.

RIght Noble Sir, this *Pamphlet* is for the most part such notes as I had taken some five or six yeers sithence for mine owne private use, but now have made it for the use of my friends also; And howsoever (for want of such a dresse as Learning might have set it forth in) it hath lost that grace which otherwayes it might have had; yet by reason of the matter, I assure my selfe it will be of some account with so many as preferre substance before shadowes; which hath made me adventure the publishing of it, though no better furnished then you see; and the sure know-

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ledge of your noble disposition and former experience of your favour, hath imboldened me to present this little Booke unto your Honour, being well assured, that by your *Patronage*, it will finde the more favourable entertainment, especially amongst some, which otherwise, perhaps, would have scornfully rejected it, and it may be, will tax me of presumption, that for the credit of a trifle, shall crave the assistance of so eminent a person, but my duty and true affection to your Honour, and hope of your pardon, hath made mee wilfully repell all reasons that might disswade me. Accept therefore, I beseech your Honour, this small gift, as King *Artaxerxes* did the water which a poore man brought in his hands and gave him, who received it with a smiling and cheerefull countenance, measuring the gift not according to the value, but according to his good will that gave it; and thought it no lesse an act of Kingly greatnesse, to take small presents in good part, then to give greater: neither is any eminence disgraced by so doing. I think it needlesse to trouble your Honour with many words of entreaty, and therefore conclude, wishing your Honour all happinesse here and hereafter,

*Your Honours to be commanded,*

THO. DEVENISH.

To

## To the READER.

*KIndly Reader, I know that great wisdome is requisit to write well, and there is need of greater deliberation then in speaking, because a rash word may be presently corrected, but that which is set down in writing cannot be so easily amended; yet this is chiefly to be observed by Schollers and great men, who ought to consider well what they utter, and to use words of another phrase than that of the vulgar sort; but for such as my selfe, may take more libertie, not wronging so much our reputation, so we speake the truth, which hath imboldned me to publish this Booke; for as it is lawfull and fit to aske such things as wee stand in need of, so also to profit others what wee can by speaking or writing, though wee want that sweete grave and eloquent speech, which is not to be neglected by such as have it; and for any to refuse a truth when it may be pro-*

*ſitable, becauſe it comes in homely words, were groſſe folly, I am ſure men will not do ſo in the things of this life; for I have often knowne wiſe men of this world, and learned, diſcourſe long with a poore Countrey-man, and have beene very readie to hearken to his advice, when it may be profitable; and you ſhall hardly finde any ſo madde, as to refuſe directions (from the meaneſt Shepheard or Begger he meets withall) in a way he knowes not. But you will ſay, it's a ſhame for any man to be ſo ignorant, as not to know the way to his owne home, and that in the cleare light, at noone day, but ſuch is the wilfull ignorance of the moſt, that they know not, or if they know, they forget, and walke not in this heavenly path of Charitie, yea, men of high eſteeme for their great wiſedome, are not aſhamed to declare their ignorance of this Royall Law of Love (which ought to be the rule of all mens actions) Witneſſe that great man, who at his triall made this excuſe; That he fell upon thoſe evills with which hee was charged, for want of Buoy to guide him; if he had but looked on the law of Nature, hee might have found Buoy enough; for a Heathen could have told him by the light of that Law, that it is injuſtice to take that which belongs to another man from him by force, much more would the Law of God have been a per-*

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*fect rule to have kept him from thoſe uncharitable wayes, and he could not miſſe directions there almoſt in every leaſe, which implyes not onely the neceſſitie and excellencie of this dutie, but alſo our want of it, and the great need we have ſtill to be put in minde; and this is alſo manifeſted by our Saviours ſpeech to* Simon Peter, Ioh. 21.15. *For as if this could never be ſure enough rooted in the heart, he asketh him three times together whether hee loved him? ſure Chriſt did not aske ſo often to informe himſelfe of* Peters *love, but to teach him and us all the neceſſitie of this dutie, which is the ſumme of all; for without it we can doe nothing well, and with it and a right judgement we can doe nothing ill. The beſt affected looke more to the truth then to the perſon or manner of delivery, which leaves mee not altogether hopeleſſe, but that this may doe ſome good; and ſo I commit it to the charitable acceptance of all that reade it, deſiring to gaine ſo much intruſt hereby in the affection of Gods children, that I may have a part in their prayers, which I hope they will not deny me, and in that hope I reſt,*

Yours in the Lord,

THO. DEVENISH.

Yours in the Lord.

THO. DUVENISH.

JOHN 13. VERS. 34. *A new Commandement I give you, that yee love one another, as I have loved you, &c.*

GAL. 6. VERS. 2. *Beare yee one anothers burthens, &c.*

BEfore wee learne our Duty, it is good to ſet before our eyes the haynouſneſſe of our ſinne; and the beſt way for a man to come to the true ſenſe and knowledge of the nature of ſinne, is firſt to conſider the glorious Nature of God againſt whom we ſinne; his infinite eſſence and power; his excellent wiſedome; his wonderfull goodneſſe; his free love; his exact Juſtice; his unſpeakable Mercy, and his infallible Truth, with all the reſt of his Attributes: And in the ſecond place conſider what God hath done for us; he created us of the duſt of the earth, and that in his owne Image; *Gen.* 1. 27. That is, in the likeneſſe and exquiſite reſemblance of divine Eſſence or Deity. Hence we may ſee the blaſphemie of *Papiſts* in making an Image of God, which cannot poſſibly have the leaſt reſemblance of Divine Nature; Alſo in the firſt and ſecond Chapter of *Gen.* wee may ſee at large what God did more for man, hee gave him all the creatures, not onely for neceſſary uſe, but alſo for delight; and when amongſt them all he found not a meet helpe for *Adam*, hee made him one, indued with reaſon like himſelfe, fit to converſe withall; and what more? Made him the great Monarch to rule the whole earth, *Gen.* 1. 28. *Pſal.* 8. 6. Hereby we may ſo farre take notice of that infinite love of the Creator to the creature, that wee may be able in ſome meaſure, to ſee the haynouſneſſe of the ſin of our firſt parents, and the puniſhment due for the ſame, unto which we are all lyable by nature. There be divers circumſtances that may exceedingly aggravate this ſin; as the time when it is thought

preſently after God had beſtowed theſe favours, whileſt they were freſh; The place where, even in the middeſt of them in the Garden; The little need they had, who wanted for nothing that their nature was capable of, as the woman confeſt, *Gen.* 3. 2. They had the free uſe of all but that one tree, which alſo ſhewes the unreaſonableneſſe of the ſinne, that would not ſuffer God to reſerve one that had freely given them all: Alſo it was a ſtrange thing, that our firſt parents ſhould ſo readily hearken unto the Serpent, of whom they never received good, and ballance his ſuggeſtions, with the unfallible truth of their Creator, of whoſe goodneſſe they had as much experience as poſſibly they could imagine ſhould be manifeſted in ſo ſhort time; there are many other which wee may very eaſily find out; but there is one thing above all that ſhewes the deſperate nature of their ſin, that they would adventure upon the breach of that law of God, and make themſelves thereby the ſubjects of his heavie wrath, when neither they, nor any other creature in heaven or earth could know, or conceive any way of redemption; If any man can but meditate on this, it will wound the beardeſt heart; O what ſhall a poore ſoule thinke in ſuch a caſe? What have I done? What have I loſt? Is there no helpe? Shall I never ſee the face of my God againe? Yea, there is helpe, and by that which is the greateſt aggravation of our ſinne, which is, we have ſinned againſt that infinite Majeſty, and there is none but that Majeſty can help us, and that hath wrought our peace; Here wee may take notice of Gods wonderfull goodneſſe in redeeming our ſoules, and the glorious working of all thoſe attributes formerly mentioned, in freeing us from that miſerable condition: As firſt, Gods excellent wiſedome in finding out the way, which was it that the Angells deſired to behold, 1 *Pet.* 1. 12. His infinite power in effecting it; his wonderfull goodneſſe towards his creature; his free love in beſtowing it; his exact Juſtice in the ſufferings of Chriſt, more then can be expreſt; his unſpeakable mercy to us in the greateſt miſery that any creature could; his unfallible truth, in keeping promiſe to all ages, all this agreeing with the holineſſe of his nature, there is not any of theſe particulars, but may fil a heart with meditations, and afford matter enough for a bigger Volume then this, but I onely mention them for the farther aggravation

gravation of our actuall sinnes, and to shew thereby how justly God may require all love & obedience from us, that hath denied us nothing that is fit for us; Let us see then what it is that Christ requireth to be performed on our parts; That is, faith to believe, lay hold on, and apply all the promises of God unto us and this is not a dead faith, but such as worketh by love, as wee may see in the Scriptures, *Gal.* 5. 6. *For in Christ Iesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, neither uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love*, and in the 13. Ver, the Apostle saith, love is the fulfilling of the law; Saint *James* calls it the Royall law, *Iames* 2. 8.

Love then, being the substance of all the duty that God requires, as we may see, *Mat.* 22. 37. 38, 39. I shall say no more, but goe on with what I intended, concerning this duty of love, and of the contrary evill, uncharitableneſſe, in 1 *Iohn* 3. 10. wee have this laid downe, as a character of the child of the divell, in the later part of the Verse, namely, *He that loveth not his brother, such a one is not of God*: Now wee must understand, that in the Scripture, such as love not, are said to hate; hence wee may see what uncharitable persons are, they belong to Satan, this wee may see plainly proved, 1 *John* 4. 16. and 1 *John* 2. 9. and *Gal.* 5. 2. It is reckoned up amongst the works of the flesh; and in *Tit.* 3. 3. it is set downe as the note of a wicked man. Now we must not understand every unkindneſſe to be the hatred here meant, for amongst good men many times this may fall out; as *Acts* 15. 39. *Paul* and *Barnabas* parted company upon a private difference, but the uncharitableneſſe here spoken of, is a perverse disposition of the minde, whereby we are made unfit to performe any office of love as the Lord requires, but rather the contrary; moreover, uncharitable men are like the divell whose they are, and to whom they doe belong; for the divell may be said to have knowledge, faith, feare, and such like, *James* 2. 19. but the divell hath no love, he loves none, but hates; and as God makes himselfe knowne unto us by this, so hee makes it the true signe whereby we shall know those that belong unto him, *John* 13. 35. *By this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if that yee have love one to another*: by all this we may see what a hatefull sinne, uncharitableneſſe is, and what cause it gives us to suspect our

 sincerity

ſincerity when wee feele in our ſelves the markes of this ſinne, which may be briefly theſe.

The firſt note of an uncharitable man, is ſuch as take things in the worſt part, or worſe then they are meant: As thoſe wicked Princes of the Children of *Ammon* perſwaded *Hanun*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 3. or as they dealt with our Saviour Chriſt, turning his words into other ſenſe then he meant; for he ſpake of his body, they would needs have it the Temple; *Iohn* 2. 19. And to this purpoſe ſee how love is deſcribed, 1 *Cor.* 13. 4. amongſt many other things, it's ſaid, love thinketh not evil; alſo uncharitable men will put a bad end upon all is ſaid or done, as if all were done in hypocriſie, and ſo put the worſt conſtruction that may be.

A ſecond note is, when men are ſo eaſily provoked, fly out upon every ſlight occaſion or ſhew of offence, as if their uncharitable nature were as touch-powder kindle with the leaſt ſpark, wee ſee in that, 1 *Cor.* 13. *Love ſuffereth long*, it's not of this touchie nature.

Thirdly, when a man ſeeketh his owne; For what is the ſaying of the world, juſt as *Kain*; am I my brothers keeper? ſee to this purpoſe that forenamed, 1 *Cor.* 13. *Love ſeeketh not her owne*; but we know the divelliſh proverbe, Every man for himſelfe, and God for us all, wee may well ſay, and the Divell for us all.

Fourthly, when one is hardly drawne to communicate any thing for the good of his brother, we know, 1 *Cor.* 13. 4. *Love is bountifull*; and *Pſal.* 112. *A good man is merciſull*, which is alſo a fruit of love, and *Eſai.* 32. 8. *A liberall man deviſeth liberall things, &c.*

Fifthly, when we blaſe abroad other mens faults, caſting them many times in the teeth with them, when they have repented, or at leaſt might have done, if wee had carefully put in practice our Saviours rule, *Math.* 18. ſee a ſweet Scripture, *Prov.* 10. 12. *Love covereth all treſpaſſes*, but there is commonly in good people, a ſtrong diſpoſition to this evil, they are very apt to offend in this, to whiſper ſecretly, other mens faults, as if they ſhould thereby render themſelves to their hearers, to be religiouſly wiſe, when indeed they doe the contrary; for we are directed, *Gal.* 6. 2. to

*beare*

*beare one anothers burthen*, and are ſaid therein to fulfill the law of Chriſt; Now there is no ſorer burthen then ſinne againſt God, it's able to breake the backe of the ſtrongeſt Chriſtian, without Gods help, what an uncharitable thing then is this, to lay upon ſuch a poore ſoule, all our hard and uncharitable ſpeeches, this is ſo farre from eaſing ſuch as are overladen, or helping to breake their burthen, that wee hereby help to breake their backe, as it commeth to paſſe.

Sixtly, when men are inwardly vext at the good of others, thus was *Saul* againſt *David* 1 *Sam.* 18. 9 Thus many times men doe upon the ſame ground of *Sauls* hatred, [illegible], they thinke other mens goodneſſe darkens and eclipſes their glory, and this I have knowne amongſt men about matters of Religion, when one is in a more forward way of reformation or differing ſomething in judgement, how doe they labour to finde ſome Spot or Blemiſh in that perſon, or perſons, which thus ſtands in their way? I can ſpeake this by experience, there are many aggravations of this ſinne of uncharitableneſſe.

As firſt, when its done to them that love us, as wee may ſee the Prophet *David* complaine, *Pſal* 109 5. *And they rewarded me evill for good, and hatred for my friendſhip*; alſo when men hate ſuch to whom they are bound in any ſpeciall bond, Husband, wife, Parents, Children, &c.

Secondly, When they hate others for performing the chiefe Office of love; thus we may ſee *Amos* 5. 10. or when they hate others for godlineſſe ſake, becauſe they follow the thing that is good, *Pſal.* 38. 20.

Thirdly, when they carry a ſhew of love, and hate them inwardly, this was the practiſe of *Ioab* 2. *Sam.* 20. 9. Thus alſo dealt *Iudas* with his Maſter, and the *Devill* with *Evah*, ſee then the evills of this ſinne of uncharitableneſſe, ſpoyles, and ſowers all we doe, and makes that God will not accept it, it's like that leaven of maliciouſneſſe, 1 *Cor.* 5. 8. ſee what wee are commanded, 1 *Tim.* 2. 8 *I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands without wrath*, ſee alſo what is ſaid, 1 *Iohn* 3. 15. and *Math.* 6. 15. It's ſaid, if we forgive not, God wil not forgive us: How ſhould we then ſtrive for a loving diſpoſition in reſpect of God, our ſelves, and our brethren? In reſpect of

 God;

God; conſider firſt, it's his command; 1 *Iohn* 4.21. So *Ioh.* 13.34. *A new Commandement giue I unto you, that you loue one another, &c.* It is good for us to conſider upon what occaſion, and at what time this was ſpoken by our bleſſed Saviour, he was then to leaue them, and it was juſt before his paſſion; we alwayes take notice of the words of our dying friends; and account that the ſtrongeſt obligation: marke alſo, Chriſt calls it a new Commandement (Why new?) not in regard of the matter of it; But firſt in regard Chriſt renewes the practice of it; Againe, it was propoſed by a new example, the like was never heard of (ſuch loue wherewith Chriſt loued his children) neither indeed hath any man ſuch loue, for our Saviour ſaith, *Ioh.* 15.13. *Greater loue then this hath no man*, then to beſtow his life for his friends; ſee the height of mans loue, and this is very rare too, as we may ſee, *Rom.* 5.7. *Doubtleſſe one will ſcarce dye for a righteous man*; but yet for a good man it may be one dare die, but ſee what Chriſt did, as is ſet forth in the 8. verſe, whileſt we were ſinners, Chriſt died for us, when we were at greateſt enmity againſt God; We ſee now that if this duty be neglected, we ſinne not only againſt our brethren, but againſt God himſelfe; as indeed there is no ſinne whatſoever, but it is againſt God, this appeareth by *Ioſephs* anſwer to his Maſters wife, *Gen.* 39.9. There is ſome reſemblance of this in the lawes of our land; for if a man ſteale from his neighbour, the indictment runs thus: againſt the King, his Crowne and Dignity, becauſe he breaks the Kings lawes; juſt ſo is the caſe betwixt God and us, all our ſinne whatſoever is againſt the great Law-giver; let us conſider, this was the counſell of a dying friend, that ſweet Saviour of our ſoules, how ſhould this pierce the hearts of Gods children, when they thinke of the wonderfull neglect of his duty? If a dead father ſhould know his laſt words ſleighted, would he like it; much more then the Lord Chriſt; for what ever he requires muſt be done; if *Abraham* be commanded, to ſacrifice his ſonne; Let us learne then of the ſervants of *Naaman*, who ſaid to their Maſter, if the Prophet had required ſome great matter, wouldſt thou not have don it? how much more when he ſaith, *Waſh and be cleane*? ſo we: loue is all God requires, and why deſires he this? he gaines nothing by it, we have the benefit our ſelves. Saint *Iohn* in 1 *Joh.* 3.16. ſets

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before us Christs owne practice to move us to the performance of this duty: see also farther, 1 *Iohn* 4. 9.10,11. *Herein was the love of God made manifest, &c.* Shall he that is every way infinite doe this, and we neglect it that are so many thousand degrees below; There are divers motives to this duty: also in respect of our selves, as first, hee that loveth not his brother is a murtherer, 1 *Ioh.* 3. 15. If God should not punish such, how should he be just; we know what we say, or at least thinke, many times of a Judge or Jury, when a murtherer is suffered to escape: see also what is said, 1 *Iohn* 2. 9. The second motive; he that hath this vertue of love, may be able to resolve that great question of being in the state of Grace, 1 *Iohn* 4, 7. *Iohn* 13. 35. There is also something to this purpose, 2 *Pet.* 1. 7. 8, 9, 10. and we know that love hath this promise, never to faile; The next motive in respect of our selves, is, This inableth us to performe what ever God requires to be done to our brethren, it is said, 1 *Cor.* 12. 7. *The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withall,* and to that purpose in the last verse of this Chap er, the Apostle adviseth us to desire the best gifts, having formerly mentioned divers, but concludes in that verse, that hee will shew them a more excellent way which he shewes in the next Chapter to be love, and makes it plaine, that without that, all the other were, or would prove unto them unprofitable; it is most singularly set forth unto us in that 1 *Cor.* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and in conclusion, he crowneth love with this above all the rest, that it shall never fall away, verse the 8. *Love doth never fall away, &c.* and therefore the Apostle adviseth us, *Col.* 3. 14. *And above all things put on love which is the bond of perfectnesse*; this indeed ties all together, and when this bond is broken, we cannot performe our duty as we ought; we see *Nabal*, he could not helpe *David*, he had no love; The fourth motive, is, every man lookes that others should love him, and supply his wants, is it not most equall we should do the like to them? See what Christ speaketh to this purpose, *Mat.* 7. 12. *Therefore whatsoever yee would that men should doe unto you, the same doe yee unto them, &c.* want of love then is a most unreasonable sinne.

There are divers motives also to this duty in respect of our brethren; first, in regard of the neere relation we have to them,

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they are of our own flesh, *Esa.* 58.7. we would not hurt our owne flesh; but we know there should be a neerer relation of the same spirit: Secondly, there is not the worst, but hath some thing in him to be beloved, or whereby we may exercise our love, that is, delight or pity: Thirdly, the poorest and meanest may help the richest, as we see *David* used the help of the poore *Egyptian*, 1 *Sam.* 30. 11. Also the poorest are, or may be beloved of God. Now, to shew what this love is; It is a fruit of the grace of Gods spirit, no fruit of the flesh; *Gal.* 5. 22. and hence it is said, 1 *Iohn* 4. 7. love commeth of God, and the Apostle Saint *Paul* saith that hee need not write unto them of this duty; for this was taught them by God himselfe, 1 *Thes.* 4. 9. *But as touching brotherly love, yee need not that I write unto you, for yee are taught of God to love one another:* Thus we see then we have not love by nature.

Now there are divers conclusions may be drawne from this. First, that must needs be an error in such as maintaine that the first act of love is in man by nature, wee may see this cleared, by that the Apostle speakes, *Col.* 3. 14. *And above all things put on love*; shewing, that by nature men are without it: so likewise see to that purpose, *Tit.* 3. 3.

The second conclusion; What may be in man by nature, is not love, as we see, *Iohn* 3. 6.

The third conclusion; That love which friend beares to friend, parents to children, &c. is not this love, 1 *King.* 3. 26. so the very Heathen may doe, *Mat.* 5. 46.

The fourth conclusion; if love be a fruit of Gods Spirit, then wicked men can never love one another, as we see betwixt the men of *Shechem* and *Abimelech*; such friendship we shall finde in the Alehouse, amongst drunkards, the greatest shew of love, when perhaps that was the first of their acquaintance, and before they part one stab another; it's little better with all carnall men, they cannot love, never therefore keepe company with such, neither trust a wicked man, for at best he will be sure to leave thee in time of greatest need; thus we see *Ahab* left *Iehosaphat*, 1 *King.* 22. 30. and of this the Prophet *David* complains, *Psal.* 41. 9. *Yea, my familiar friend whom I trusted, which did eate of my bread, &c.* See also an example in *Judas*, Christ made him

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The fifth concluſion then may be this; Labour all wee can to intruſt our ſelves in the affections of Gods children; for if there be any love, it is amongſt them; this did the Prophet *David*, *Pſal.* 16. 3. *To the Saints that are on earth, and to the exellent, all my delight is in them:* Let us now ſee the generall nature of love, it is ready to doe good, &c. therefore the Lord is ſaid to wait *Eſa.* 30. 18. Thus it is alſo in men, or at leaſt ſhould be: See what the Apoſtle ſpeakes, *Act.* 21. 13. *What doe yee weeping and breaking my heart; for I am ready not to be bound onely, but alſo to die at Ieruſalem for the name of the Lord Ieſus*; thus alſo to the brethren, *Rom.* 1. 15. *Therefore as much as in mee is, I am ready, &c.* So 2 *Cor* 12. 14. See likewiſe what is ſaid in commendation of the people, 2 *Cor.* 9. 2. *For I know your readineſſe of minde, &c.* this alſo is commanded 1 *Tim.* 6. 18. Now the readineſſe is ſeene in theſe two things: Firſt, when we doe good without intreatie, as we ſee the Diſciples did, *Act.* 11. 28, 29, 30. Whenſoever they heard of the wants of the Saints, ſent them ſuccour: Secondly, when we doe good at the firſt motion, as *Hyram*, 1 *Kng.* 5. 7. he rejoyced at the motion, thus it's ſaid of that wiſedome which is from above, *Iames* 3. 17. *Eaſie to be intreated, &c.* Some will performe an act of love, with much intreatie, as the unjuſt Judge, *Luke* 18. 36. this was not love, for love will conſtraine us; as we ſee *Acts* 16. 15. of *Lydia*. But when men are troubled, and thinke much that any man ſhould move them to this duty; it's an ill ſigne; we ought to lay downe our lives, as Saint *Iohn* ſpeakes, *Iohn* 10. 11. and to doe good, as the Prophet *David* ſpeakes, *Pſal.* 122. 9. and ſo *Heb.* 13. 16. *To doe good, and to diſtribute, forget not, &c.* Love is like the good woman ſpoken of, *Prov.* 31. 12. *She will doe him good and not evill, all the dayes of her life*; Hence ariſeth three concluſions:

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they are of our own fleſh, *Eſa.*58.7. we would not hurt our owne fleſh; but we know there ſhould be a neerer relation of the ſame ſpirit: Secondly, there is not the worſt, but hath ſome thing in him to be beloved, or whereby we may exerciſe our love, that is, delight or pity: Thirdly, the pooreſt and meaneſt may help the richeſt, as we ſee *David* uſed the help of the poore *Egyptian*, 1 *Sam.* 30. 11. Alſo the pooreſt are, or may be beloved of God. Now, to ſhew what this love is; It is a fruit of the grace of Gods ſpirit, no fruit of the fleſh; *Gal.* 5. 22. and hence it is ſaid, 1 *Iohn* 4. 7. love commeth of God, and the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſaith that hee need not write unto them of this duty; for this was taught them by God himſelfe, 1 *Theſ.* 4. 9. *But as touching brotherly love, yee need not that I write unto you, for yee are taught of God to love one another:* Thus we ſee then we have not love by nature.

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*Iohn* adviſeth, 1 *Iohn* 3. 18. *My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue onely, but in deed and in truth*; The ſecond concluſion is this; If a man doe that which pleaſeth a friend, and is not good, this is not love, as wee ſee by the counſell given to *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* 13. 4, 5. And hence it is ſaid, *Prov.* 13. 24. hee that ſpares the rod, hates the childe, becauſe hee doth him no good: The third concluſion; ſuch as ſay they hurt no body, and yet doe no good, have not love; the poore fig-tree was curſt becauſe it was barren: ſo likewiſe Chriſt arraignes men at the laſt day becauſe they have not done good, *Matth.* 25. Now this good muſt be done to body, ſoule, eſtate, and that freely, not having reſpect to our ſelves, as in the 1 *Cor.* 13. Many will doe good, becauſe they looke for the like againe, this is not love, *Math.* 5. 46. *For if yee love them that love you, what reward ſhall you have, doe not the Publicans the ſame?* Thus then we may ſee what men are that have not love, like *Iſhmael*, *Gen.* 16. 12. Wild men, their hand againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt them; or like that Judge ſpoken of *Luke* 18. 2. *Hee feared not God nor reverenced man*, ſuch mens love (if wee may ſo call it) never over-looks their owne doores; juſt like *Nabal*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 11. *Shall I then take my bread, and my water, and my fleſh that I have killed for my ſheares, and give it to them whom I know not whence they be?* It's worth your paines to read the former part of the Chapter, whereby you ſhall ſee a perfect character of ſuch a perſon, eſpecially in the 10. verſe. our love ſhould extend farther, as wee ſee, *Hebr.* 13. 2, 3. *Be not forgetfull to entertaine ſtrangers, &c.* we know not what our own condition may be; we may ſee what hath beene the condition of Gods Saints, *Hebr.* 11. 37. *They were ſtoned, they were hewen aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlaine with the ſword, they wandered up and downe in ſheeps skins and Goates skins, being deſtitute, afflicted and tormented.* Sure the *Nabals* of the world will have no acquaintance with theſe poore ſoules; but ſuppoſe we acknowledge all this, as indeed who can deny it, yet there is more to be done, we muſt love our enemies, and doe them good, as wee are commanded, *Exod.* 23. 4. But who is this? Whom may wee take for an enemy? not every one that doth us a diſcourteſie, as *David* to *Mephiboſheth*, he did him an ill turne, but could not be accounted his enemy; for he loved

loved him; but hee is an enemy that of set purpose doth a man wrong causelesly, and continues therein; *Saul* hated *David* that gave him no cause, 1 *Sam.* 28. 2. such an enemy ought to be beloved of us, it is Gods commandement, *Mat* 5.44. *But I say unto you, love your enemies, &c. Prov.* 25.21. If hee that hateth thee be *hungry, give him bread to eate; and if he be thirsty give him water to drinke*, a man that loves not his enemy, doth more hurt to himselfe then his enemy can doe to him, for hee hurts his owne soule, as wee may see, *Matth.* 6.15. *But if yee forgive not men their trespasses, no more will your Father forgive your trespasses*; also *Col.* 3.13. we have many encouragements to this dutie; God himselfe glories in this, as a most excellent thing, *Mic.*7.18. *Who is a God like unto thee, that taketh away iniquitie, and passeth by the transgression, &c. Prov.*16.32. Another motive (is) we cannot serve God, or performe our dutie without it, as *Math.* 5.24. *We must leave our offering, &c.* So in prayer, wee mocke God if wee pray not without wrath, wee desire him to plague us, neither can we come to the Lords Table, 1 *Cor.*5.8. So likewise for receiving the Word, *James* 1. 21. Besides, if we doe not forgive, our sinnes lye upon our owne score, *Math.*6.15. and 18.27. So likewise, there shall be no mercy to him that sheweth no mercy, *Iames* 2.13. Besides, this is the most equall thing in the world, for the vilest person would have God forgive him, as in *Deut.* 29.19. This reason cuts off many objections that men usually make against this truth: As shall I stoope to him; if I should doe so, I should encourage him: 3. It's not the the first time: 4. I owe him no love: 5. I have often told him his fault; 6. I have deserved better at his hands: 7. I should be accounted a coward, &c. 8. He will not see or speake to me: 9. This is a singular thing, and divers like this; true, Gods children must doe singular things, *Math.* 5.47. Wee know what example Christ gave at his death, hee forgave them, so did *Stephen, Acts* 7. Now, there are foure excellent properties in forgiving wrongs and injuries: as,

First, It must be doue speedily, let not the Sun go down upon our wrath; for then twenty to one but it will rise upon our wrath.

Secondly, it must be done constantly, that is, alwayes, every offence, *Math.*18.22. Wee know we are bound to pray conti-

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nually; and we muſt not lift up our hands in wrath; we muſt not be overcome of evill, but let patience have her perfect worke, *Iames* 1.4. *And let Patience have her perfect worke, that ſhee may be entire, lacking nothing.*

Thirdly, we ought to forgive truly; ſo we deſire at the hands of God, *Mat.*35.18. 1 *Iohn* 3.18.

Fourthly, it muſt be done willingly, not by conſtraint; there is no duty accepted by God, but ſuch as is willingly performed; *Gal.*4.15. But if I ſhould doe all this, my enemy will thinke I am guilty; at his perill, if hee will doe ſo, abuſe his neighbours patience; if this be ſo, that we muſt love our enemies, there is no doubt but we muſt love our friends, and thoſe are of three ſorts; By nature, grace and choyce; That by nature the heathen will teach us; and wee may ſee how they are condemned, that are without naturall affection, *Rom.* 1.30. 1 *Tim* 3.3. Now, this duty is not performed onely in the things of this life, but alſo in that of the better life; wee ſee an example of this in *Cornelius*, *Acts* 10.24. *He called together his kinſmen and ſpeciall friends*; ſo *Iohn* 1.41,42. One brother brought another to Chriſt. Next is the love of our friends by grace; hee that loves ſhall be ſure not to loſe his reward, *Math.* 10.41, 42. *Hee that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, &c.* ſo 2 *Iohn* 1.2. we have the example of Chriſt for this, 1 *Theſ.*4.9.10. So the Prophet *David*, *Pſal.*16.3. Alſo God is well pleaſed with this, and takes it as done unto himſelfe, *Matth.* 25.45. *Yee have done it to me.* Next thing to draw our love, they are worthy of our love, and are ſaid to partake of the divine nature, 1 *Pet.* 1.4. Againe, they are beſt able to requite our love, they can go to God for us, *Job* 42.8. *My ſervant* Job *ſhall pray for you, &c.* The next is our friends by choyce, as *Ionathan* loved *David*, 1 *Sam.*18.1.2. So alſo *Paul* loved *Philemon*, The ground of this love ſhould be our love to God, and that Image of God in them. Now, there are divers things wherein this love is to be ſhewed; as firſt, in imparting to them what ever we know may be for their good, as our Saviour Chriſt teacheth by his example, *Iohn* 15.15. Next, we muſt keepe our friends from hurt, all we can, as *Ionathan* did to *David*, 1 *Sam.*19.2. It's a queſtion whether *Ionathan* were a better ſonne or friend in that he did; Next wee ſhould give our friends the

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beſt counſell we can, *Luke* 12. 4. *And I ſay unto you my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body &c.* The nex duty wee ſhould beare a part with them in any affliction, *Pſal.* 35. 14. *I behaved my ſelfe as to my friend, or as to my brother, I humbled my ſelfe, mourning as one that bewaileth his mother.* Change of eſtate ſhould not change friendſhip, *Prov.* 17. 17. *A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is borne for adverſity*: So alſo in the firſt of *Ruth.* 16. 17. *And* Ruth *anſwered, intreat mee not to leave thee nor to depart from thee, &c.* There are divers things wherein this love is abuſed: as when the ground of it is our owne advantage, and wee look upon them whileſt the ſunne of proſperity ſhines: Next, when our agreement in evill is the cauſe of our friendſhip: alſo when we honour our friends in ſtead of giving them good counſell, as *Ionadab* to his brother, to abuſe his ſiſter, 2 *Sam.* 13. 5. and thus one drunkard gives counſell to another: we ſhall ſee a notable example of ſuch counſell in *Zereſh, Hamans* wife, and his friends, *Heſt.* 5. 14. where they gave advice, that a gallowes of fifty cubits high ſhould be ſet up to hang *Mordecai*; it was notable counſell, and ſo it proved at laſt. Such alſo offend againſt this law, that leave their friends in the time of their greateſt neceſſity; thus wee may ſee how *Iobs* friends left him, *Iob.* 6. 20. Yea, many times they betray their friends, as *Iudas* did his Maſter; of this we have plenty of examples. Let us then conſider how this duty of love is neglected, yea, almoſt out of uſe amongſt us now; in 2 *Sam.* 15. 31. it was told *David* for ſtrange tidings, that *Achitophel* was one of the conſpirators. I thinke we cannot now account it ſtrange, to ſee one that hath beene a familiar friend (as this Counſeller was to *David*) found amongſt the conſpirators; but it were more to be admired, to finde him any where but there, eſpecially when the ſunne of our proſperity is ſetting, as *Davids* was then thought to be, wee ſhall be ſure to finde greene leaves after the ſtrongeſt Winter froſt and ſtormes, as to finde a friend ſtand faſt in the time of adverſity; but they will doe as *Davids* friends mentioned, *Pſal* 38. 11. *My lovers and my friends ſtand aſide from my plague, and my kinſmen ſtand afarre off.* This is not onely found amongſt thoſe fained friends, as the world is full of, but even amongſt ſuch, from whom wee ſhould expect better, as we ſee in *Iobs* friends, they were ſuch as would

be thought good men, as may appeare by all their diſcourſe, and yet ſee how cruelly they deale with their poore friend in his affliction, farre worſe then *Davids* friends ſpoken of formerly, they were ſtrange, and ſtood a farre off, but theſe came neere to helpe to grieve and veex *Iob* in his greateſt extremity, as if that were all they had now to doe for their poore friend, to ſtrive who ſhould grieve him moſt; It is a ſad thing to finde this love wanting in our friends from whence we expect better; and this made the Prophet *David* to utter that bitter complaint againſt his hollow hearted Counſeller, *It was my familiar friend, &c. Pſal.*41. 9. But what may the Lord ſay, Looke backe *David*; how was *Vriah* that poore friend of thine dealt with; his life taken from him in the highſt proofe of his friendſhip: Thus wee complaine of the want of love in others; but doe not thinke of our want of love to them, but are of the ſame minde with *Simon* the Phariſie, whoſe formality made him believe his condition to be better then it was, as Chriſt ſhewes him, and all us, by ſetting before our eyes that penitentiall patterne, *Luke* 7. 44. *Then he turned to the woman, and ſaid unto* Simon, *ſeeſt thou this woman? I entered into thy houſe, and thou gaveſt me no water to my feet, but ſhee hath waſhed my feet with teares, and wiped them with the hayre of her head; thou gaveſt me no kiſſe, but ſhee ſince the time I came in hath not ceaſed to kiſſe my feet, &c.* and then concludes, Verſ. 47. *That where little is forgiven, they will love little*: who can reade this Scripture with dry eyes, to ſee how ſhort we come of this woman which the Phariſee thought ſo vile, that it made him to call in queſtion, whether Chriſt were a Prophet becauſe he admitted her to come ſo neere him; ſhee came behind, not preſuming to behold that holy Saviour, and at his feet, accounting it happineſſe enough to enjoy the meaneſt place about Chriſt, and then ſee how ſhe expreſt her love, ſhe waſht his feet with teares, wiping them with the hayres of her head, kiſſing and anoynting them; her love forc'd all this from her, but the ſenſe of her ſinne ſtopt her mouth, we heare no word ſhe ſpake; our practice is contrary, we ſpeake much, and with boldneſſe, but we have no other expreſſions but our words: where is our love to the Saints, where is our waſhing, weeping and anoynting? ſure the want of theſe ſhew that wee are ignorant of that great love

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of our ſweet Saviour to us, and by the little love we have, witne to God and the world that we thinke little is forgiven us, and as little do we conſider what is given us; How hath God bleſt this Kingdome of *England*, made it fruitfull, ſuffered none to prevaile againſt us, but delivered us in a moſt unheard-of way, and left us to praiſe his name, and made other nations examples for us of his diſpleaſure, when hee might in Juſtice have made us examples for them; but this is nothing to what he hath done, hee hath given us his glorious Goſpell; our Saviour teſtifieth of *John*, that there was not a greater borne of woman, *Math.* 11.11. and yet he that is leaſt in the Kingdome of Heaven is greater then he, this is our condition in this Kingdome of grace; *Moſes* deſired to ſee God and could not, God hath manifeſted himſelfe unto us in his Sonne Chriſt, who is the image of the inviſible God, *Col* 1.15. ſo *Heb.* 1.3. What more can be ſaid? in him he hath given us all things; How ſhould theſe meditations raiſe our thoughts from the things here below, and ſettle all our love upon Chriſt, and all his Saints; for hee takes that as done to himſelfe; take h ed how wee deny him any thing, that hath given us all things that are fit for us; hee hath redeemed our ſoules from hell; let him have ſoule, body, wife, children, ſtrength, credit, riches, honour, and all; for Chriſt tells us, hee that will not part with all for him, is not worthy of him; reade that heart-melting fifth of *Cantic.* it's a moſt ſweet place of Scripture, wherein is moſt lively ſet forth the moſt glorious & perfect beauty of Chriſt how worthy hee is of our love above all things; the Church complaining, that whileſt ſhee ſlept, that is, followed the things of this world, ſhe had loſt her beloved Chriſt; ſee what a charge ſhe laies upon the daughters of *Ieruſalem* in the 8. verſe: *I charge you, O daughters of Ieruſalem, that if yee find my melbeloved that yee tell him that I am ſicke of love.* Thoſe that had not taſted the ſweet of Chriſts love, admired this ſtrange manner of enquirie, and demand in the 9. verſe, What is thy beloved more then others, that thou doſt ſo charge us: Why? ſhee tels them in the following verſes, and ſets forth by all poſſible wayes of expreſſion, the beauty of our ſweet Saviour, in ſo much, that the faithfull hearing of the excellency of Chriſt, deſire to know, how to finde him alſo, as is ſweetly ſet forth in the laſt verſe, *O thou faireſt among*

*among women, whither is thy welbeloved gone, whither is thy welbeloved turned aside, that we may seek him with thee?* O let this be the desire of all the Saints, Give mee Christ, and take all the world besides; Let us then consider where this comfortable enjoyment of Christ is to be had, it's in that Garden, the Church, which is spoken of, *Cant* 5. 1. There are all those sweet fruits of Christs gracious presence; O then let us strive to set up Christs Ordinances, and order according to his owne institution, and amongst all the other blessings that God hath bestowed upon us, praise his holy name for those great hopes of reformation, where with hee hath at this time filled our hearts, nothing doubting, but hee that hath begun will perfect it amongst his servants; God hath left us a sufficient rule for the matters of his worship and service in his holy Word, if wee would but lay aside all carnall policy, and apply our selves to that, the businesse were ended; but we having a long time accustomed our selves to be guided by the Ordinances of man in the service of God, can hardly find a way out of it, but rather fit our selves with some bad arguments to maintaine our old practice, not much unlike the Papists, that because their fathers did so, they will believe it to be right, though it may be it's more then their fathers did to believe it, though their practice were so, but we see by experience, the conceit of a former received opinion, is a great barre to keepe men from embracing the truth; it behooves us therefore as in all things, so especially in that which more immediatly belongs to the service of God, to looke unto the rule; Thus it was still urged upon the *Israelites:* so in the Gospel, Christ alwayes directs us to the rule, and indeed, when we forsake that, wee are apt to fall upon any thing, though never so dishonourable to God, as we see, *Exod.* 32. 1. the people would have *Aaron* make them Gods, so many amongst us would have some one or other make us such gods, we know what they were, to make us a Religion, or a way of worship, which worke belongeth to God onely. Let us take heed of this, and let our love to Christ carry us through all difficulties that we meet with; for if wee consult with flesh and blood in Gods service, wee are not worthy to be his, neither can wee have any assurance that wee love him as we ought; but we shall still finde our selves apt to leave the wayes of God as hard and troublesome,

ſome, and to take our leave of Religion (as *Orpha* did of her mother in law) and die in *Moab*; let not therefore an old received opinion, honour, credit, riches, friends, or any thing ſeparate our affections from the love of Chriſt; but take up that reſolution to follow him in all his Ordinances; as *Ruth* did to follow *Naomi*, *Ruth* 1.17. *Where thou dieſt will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord doe ſo to me, and more alſo, if ought but death do part thee and me.* See what this good woman did for the love of one which ſhee confeſſeth death might deprive her of, how ſhould this very conſideration knit and unite our love to our deare Saviour; death cannot ſeparate us, neither ſhall our love (if it be true) ever have end; All then that hath beene formerly ſaid, being conſidered, one would thinke it ſtrange that all ſhould not love Chriſt; but indeed it's as ſtrange that any ſhould love him, if wee conſider our naturall inclination to ſinne, and to follow our ſenſuality; Oh how faine would a man have Heaven and earth, Chriſt and the world; part with nothing, but would faine goe to heaven at other mens coſt; but our Saviour teacheth us another leſſon, *Matth.* 13.45.46. *The Kingdome of Heaven is like to a Merchant man that ſeeketh good pearles, who having found a pearle of great price, went and ſold that he had, and bought it*; certainly wee muſt part with all for Chriſt, and this I am perſwaded is many times the deſire and reſolution of Gods children, but the fleſh ſo prevailes by the helpe of our common adverſary, that wee are ſtrangely carried away, as I am able to witneſſe from mine owne ſad experience; for upon ſuch meditations as theſe formerly mentioned, I have reſolved, ſure I will follow Chriſt, nothing ſhall draw my heart from my Saviour, but ſuch hath beene the frailty of nature, that I have ſuffered ſuch thoughts ſpeedily to cold and die, as if they had never been; ſometimes the Divell takes advantage of neceſſity, when he ſees us in ſome ſtraights, as 1 *Sam.* 21. 2. and thereby weakens our faith and dependance in the all-ſufficiency of our good God, and ſo yeeld to that which is unlawfull and unwarrantable; as if when in all ordinary wayes we ſee no ſupply, preſently conclude there is none; it was that the Divell tempted Chriſt withall: But how ſhould our Saviours anſwer be a ſtrength to our weake faith in ſuch caſes, *Matth.* 4. 4. *Man ſhall not live by bread onely,*



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*but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God:* God can make any thing besides bread, serve for his purpose, he can supply our wants any way, and deliver us out of all straights, and will surely doe it in such a measure as is fit for us, if we can forbeare our owne unwarrantable wayes; againe, I found the example of other men a strong temptation to draw away from the love of God; I have thereupon thought it a faire smooth way to walke as others doe, to stand right to their opinion however the case stands betwixt God and my soule; againe, another thing hath beene, the desire I have had to please and ingratiate my selfe with great persons, yea, and many times have thought this a very good way to helpe and further the way of Gods providence, and so have made shipwracke of a good conscience to keepe their friendship; againe, our company is a great meanes to draw us either way; for the Divell who wants no malice, nor diligence to effect our ruine, watcheth such opportunity, when wee are in company with wicked persons, and thereby alienates our affections by little and little, from duty, till at length we fall into liking of their evill wayes; it is (we know) a dangerous thing for a man that is apt to take infection, to keepe company with an infected person; againe, the credit and estimation of the world is a strong allurement to draw us from the love of Christ, and from the sincerity of Religion, how strangely doth our nature desire this, and labour to fit all our performances, that they may credit us before men, yea, even in the worship and service of God; as in the duty of prayer, we desire to get an habit of words and expressions, such as may please our fancies and eares, and so neglect the powring out of our soules before God, that which is indeed prayer: Thus we see the things of this world, and the glory of them, are a strange bait, and lookes like that fruit in the midst of Paradise which beguiled our parents, a faire outside promises much, but performes nothing; The Divell told *Eve* it would make her like God, but she was deceived in her expectation; so will the things of this world deceive us; wee are apt to make them our confidence, and thinke if we have honour, credit, riches, friends, strength, and such like, we shall be able to doe well with little or no Religion; It is true, commonly that at first looking upon the wayes of God, and

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our entrance into fellowship with Christs children, wee seeme to neglect these outward things a little, and being surprised with our new acquaintance, wee are very free for a time, and all for good duties, and love to the Saints, and what not? I remember, when at first I was entred into this way, the love of Gods people was precious, and I rejoyced in their love, and so ready and willing to any good, there was no sonne of consolation should doe that thing but I would carefully follow; but afterwards, finding many professors (that had been longer in the way, and better acquainted) cold in their practice; And in places eminent for Religion, they would doe no more then would please the *Prelates*; I grew by little and little into a luke-warme temper, and could be content, in all things to learne discretion. Take heed of this: *It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God, Hebr.* 10. 31. This many of Gods Saints are able to witnesse from their owne experience, how dreadfull the apprehension of Gods wrath hath beene, when their sinnes have been made to appeare, when their owne conscience shall stand up and say this hast thou done, thou hast beene afraid to confesse me before the world: O what answer shall a poore soule make, how shall he be able to behold the angry countenance of his God, whom hee hath so grievously offended, how hardly shall wee be able to apply the sweet promise to our selves, when we heare God speaking in the holy Scriptures; *Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny also before my Father which is in Heaven, Matth.* 10. 33. but we will be ready to answer with those wicked persons, *Mat.* 25. 44. *When did we doe this?* Christ will tell us when, and how, that wee shall not be able to reply, as wee may see. *Tit* 1. 16. *They professe they know God, but by workes they deny him, and are abominable, &c.* Here we see plainly, that to walke in wicked wayes, is to deny God; never theleſſe, in the time of prosperity, this is not thought on, untill God in tender love and compassion strip us of these outward things which wee trust in, and makes us see there is nothing can helpe in the day of wrath, but onely the Lord, it is good that these outward things faile us here, that wee may see there is no trust to be put in them; I have many times had great confidence in friends (as I have thought upon good grounds) but when I have had most need, they have beene taken away,

or have left mee, and proved unconstant, just as it was with the Apostle *Paul*, 2 *Tim* 4. 16. *At my first answering no man assisted me, but all forsooke me, &c.* O then trust in God, and he will never leave nor forsake you, and take heed of setting your affection upon any thing but God alone, it is a very hard matter to enjoy these outward things, but they will steale away our hearts from the love of God; I never yet found but that the plentifull enjoyment of them did more hurt then the want of them, yet all experience can hardly restraine our desires from these things, the reason is our diffidence in Gods all-sufficiency and feare of falling into poverty, which through error of judgement, wee account a very great evill (though sent by God for our good) and many times fall to murmuring, and so lose the benefit that we might reape thereby, and provoke God against us; I remember a good speech of a wise man to this purpose. In a feast (saith he) *Wee content our selves with that is set before us, thinking it an impudent and vile part to aske any other thing of him that entertaineth us; And how can we be so impudent and shameleſſe in this world as to aske those things of God which he will not give us?* It is the last remedy that God useth to reclaime us from our evill wayes, to take from us those things wherein we trusted, that we might cast our selves wholly upon him, which is his honour and our safety, without which we are in a miserable condition; O let every one make haste to fly unto God, now is the time, this is the day of expectance when he knocketh at the doore of our hearts by affliction, if therefore God gives us any tendernesse of heart, lay fast hold of it, and keepe a tender conscience, as we keepe our lives; take heed of deading our hearts with giving the least allowance to sin, or omitting any duty; It is a hard matter when wee have neglected the constant use of performing duties, to bring our hearts to that pitch againe from which we have slipt, as in hearing, praying, conference, meditation, and such like; let us then hold fast, and keepe close our acquaintance with God; if any thing be omitted at one time, double it the next, especially prayer, that is it whereby we have familiar accesse to his glorious Majesty, and the ground of our faith: In the next place, wee must be carefull in reading and hearing the Word, and however it be of meane esteeme in the world, wee must know it's Gods Ordinance, that

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which leads men into error, and makes them ignorant of their duty, is want of knowledge in the Scriptures, and miſ-interpreting of them, not making one place to cleare another; I know we muſt not now looke for divine revelation from heaven, but God hath left us his holy Word, by which wee may be taught all things neceſſary to our ſalvation, and howſoever it is true, that many are, and more ſhall be in heaven, that never ſaw that glorious light which we ſee; yet that is no ground for us to ſhut our eyes in the time of this light, nay, it's our ſhame, and exceeding aggravation of our ſinne ſo to doe; as we may ſee, *Acts* 17. 30. Beſides, I am perſwaded all things are not yet revealed that ſhall be in due time, there is a propheſie to be fulfilled, *Eſa.* 30. 26. *The light of the Moone ſhall be as the light of the Sunne, &c.* the doctrine of grace under the Goſpell, is a fountaine unmeaſurable, *Exec.* 47. 5. It behooves us then to walke as children of the light, ſearching the Scriptures like thoſe men of *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 11. This is a truth undeniable, commanded by God: and very profitable, and in this as in all things elſe, the better the more oppoſed by the Divell, as we finde in all times, not onely amongſt Papiſts, but alſo amongſt thoſe that will condemne it as an evill in them; I have often heard ſome preſſe this duty of ſearching the Scriptures, and blame the Papiſts for hiding the light; yet I have heard thoſe men bitterly ſpeak againſt ſuch as have been forward in the practice thereof; The *Bereans* were commended for ſearching the Scriptures, whether thoſe things *Paul* taught were true, although hee was an Apoſtle, and the Penman of the Scriptures, but if you make the leaſt enquirie or doubt of what is received and profeſſed by theſe men, you ſhall finde the change of their countenance towards you, and ſcarce ever have their good report after; or of any other, if they can help it; and why doe they this? Sure upon the ſame ground with the Papiſts, they know if men looke into the truth, they muſt then ſee their error: Alſo other mens knowledge bewrayes their ignorance, of which they are or have cauſe to be aſhamed, and ſometimes ſhewes their wickedneſſe, that know many things to be evill, and yet will for by-reſpects practiſe them; take heed of ſuch, you ſhall know them by their favourits; they will hold ſuch in great eſteeme, that deſire to know no more

in Religion then may ſerve to advance their credit, and can ſay of all they heare, it is excellent doctrine, though they know no reaſon for it, but becauſe ſuch men ſpake it; let not ſuch, nor any other draw us from this duty, neither keepe us in ignorance in theſe times of great light; we ſhould therefore ſtrive to make good uſe of our time, whileſt God holdeth forth this light unto us, whileſt it's called to day: improve to our beſt advantage all the helpes God hath afforded for increaſe of knowledge, amongſt which the fellowſhip of the Saints is not the leaſt; it is a ſad thing, to ſee how cold and fruitleſſe the company of Gods people is, the Divell knowes well that Chriſtian ſociety is a great helpe to godlineſſe; and therefore doth labour by all wayes to hinder it, and hath ſo prevailed, that for Gods Saints to meet in that Church way as they ſhould, is almoſt out of uſe amongſt many, and we are aſhamed to uſe our Chriſtian fellowſhip, but ſuit our ſelves with the times, and grow ſtrange to each other, in ſo much, that if a familiar friend paſſe by us without due obſervation (as wee thinke) our want of charity is ſuch, that wee preſently conclude, it was purpoſely done, and ſo in the pride of our hearts withdraw our ſelves from his not onely familiarity, but almoſt acquaintance; wee know what is formerly ſaid, Love thinketh not evil; let us then ſhew our love in this, to have good thoughts towards our brethren, and doe as wee would be done unto; would wee have Gods children upon every ſurmiſe withdraw themſelves from us; let us then be more mindfull of this dutie, and labour to ſtirre up one another to the performance of it, and to win their affections by our humility and loving carriage towards them: we know not how long God will continue theſe opportunities, we ſee how hee hath dealt with others, they are deprived of thoſe things which we enjoy in abundance, if God ſhould deale ſo with us, as we know how juſtly hee may; Oh how grievous will be the remembrance of our negligence! wee may wiſh and deſire againe to ſee thoſe times, but to no purpoſe: Let us then call to mind what wee have received, and how wee have requited the Lord for all his benefits; how little our love hath beene to our good God, whoſe love to us is infinite.

FINIS.

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# A LETTER SENT TO THE HONOURABLE GEORGE Lord DIGBY In FLUSHING,

From a Worthy Gentleman in *Windsor*, January the 24. 1641.

*Together,*

With the true Coppy of a Letter sent from Sir JOHN BYRON, Lieutenant of the Tower, to the House of Commons, concerning divers matters of great note and Consequence.

Printed at London for R. J. 1641.

# A LETTER

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# HONOURABLE

From a Worthy Gentleman in

With the true Copy of a Letter

Lieutenant of the Tower, to the House

of Commons, concerning divers

matters of great moment and

Consequence.

Printed at London for R. J. 1641.

# A LETTER

## Sent to the Honourable *George* Lord *Digby* in FLUSHING, from a worthy Gentleman in WINDSOR, January the 24. 1641.

NOw the world ſeeth by wofull experience in you, that it is end that crowneth the accord, and that the faireſt beginnings, ſometimes are attended with ſad, if not blacke iſſues: let me adviſe you to reflect upon your ſelfe, not onely as Baron, and eldeſt Sonne of an Earle, but as a father of divers ſweet children, and a husband unto a faire Lady; and that your Lordſhip would not attempt both cauſeleſſely and neceſſitouſly to make that noble race on her ſide mourne. If true naturall affection is ſo dead and ſtiffe in you, that you have left us almoſt no hope to ſee or heare of you, to be cauſe of joy unto your owne. Oh, my Lord we have all too juſt cauſe to feare, that the Straffordian leaven hath leavened the better part, if not the whole lumpe: The Lord God grant that you bleed not inward, and at length prove a dolorous object to the world, but moſt of all to none but your ſelfe: whoſe

ruine will seeme to many the lesse considerable, by how much the more it will prove apparently wilfull, not casuall, much lesse necessary.

My Lord, there are too many eyes open: there is no thought of dazeling them, all your Lordships not long since saw a gallant starre fall, and were pleased to give forth, that that starre wanted not light but grace. Your Lordship was not for some good time together, either unwilling or backward in the just persuit of him, with the rest of the Worthies: what caused you to retreat? God only knowes certainly, men by conjecture: but this may be assured of, that if you or others goe his wayes, you will after so notorious and remarkeable an example, find harder and more impassable difficulties in the accomplishment of your designes, and lesse favourable usage upon your defeat. My Lord, notorious and wilfull errors, if not crimes, after so late and famous exemplary indiction and infliction of Law, will seeme to be his, who is rather possessed then reduced.

My Lord, your Lordship did very ill to take Sea, and for *Flushing*, worse to give occasion, which may seeme, first to perswade it, if not to enforce it. But good my Lord, as you respect God, your Country, your noble Wife and Father, your owne honour, and that

of

of your ancient family looke no further: neither once thinke upon *France*, except with griefe and feare, the one for those three unfortunate, if I may not say unworthy: or unnaturall men; who by their unnaturall forwardnes, to violate their Country, have utterly as deservedly, ruinated themselves, and caused divers of their friends though innocent to savour ill, if not to stinke. My Lord, I beseech you let me not heare of you; therefore if I should, upon my truth and honour, I shall not onely hold and esteeme you, but absolutely pronounce you and vote you for lost, there is hopes either upon returning or staying, there's some space. There may be hopes that the Parliament, which seekes no mans overthrow but his reclaiming, may passe by some things, may forget others, may qualifie this, and remit that: so that your Lordship be found either in State or place, that may not give cause.

This counsell that may doe much good, can doe you no harme, you are heartily desired to follow from him, who you perfectly know was never guilty of any thing but of hearty love and fidelity towards you and yours, neither ever willingly would alter his mind, you still persisting in tearmes thereof capable.

# The true Coppy of a Letter sent from the Lieutenant of the Tower Sir *I. Byron.* to the Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons in defence of himſelfe and to ſatisfie the world.

*Sir,*

MY words have already been ſo miſreported, that I am forced to return my anſwer in writing, and think my condition at this time very unfortunate, that according to the warrant of Summons, I received this morning from the honourable Houſe of Commons, I cannot perſonally attend there without both the breach of His Majeſties expreſſe command, not to ſtirre out of the Tower without his leave, and likewiſe of the oath I took at my coming into this place to obſerve His Majeſties commands. This I hope well conſidered will exempt me from the cenſure of contumacy, or diſobedience to the commands of that honourable Houſe, whoſe juſt Liberties and Privileges, I ſhall ever be ready

to

to maintaine with my life and fortunes. And I moſt humbly deſire the honourable Houſe to reſt aſſured, that it is farre from my thought (what falſe reports ſoever have been raiſed to the contrary) to divide my ſelfe betwixt the King and the Parliament, and that my affections are united equally to ſerve both, though in the condition I am indifferent (from other men) I can perform only a ſingle perſonall obedience here (unleſſe His Majeſty pleaſe to abſolve me from this command) In the mean time, if by the houſe, it ſhall be thought fit to demand any particulars, I am ready with all clearneſſe, and ingenuity to give ſatisfaction, and with the like candor and fidelity, to behave my ſelfe in all other actions, as becomes a perſon intruſted, and one more willing to depoſite his life for the true Proteſtant Religion, the peace and tranquillity of this City and Common-wealth, then ambitious to continue Lieutenant of the Tower. In which reſolution, I reſt.

Your humbly Servant,

*I. Byron.*

Tower of *London*,
12, January,
1641.

FINIS.

Your humbly Servant,

Tower of London,
12, January
1641.

FINIS.

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# TRVE INTELLIGENCE FROM IRELAND.

## DATED FROM *DUBLIN* the second of *April*, and received here the eleventh.

Cole K

LONDON:
Printed for *H. Blunden*. 1642.

# TRUE
# INTELLIGENCE
## FROM
# IRELAND.

DATED FROM DUBLIN

the second of April, and received

here the eleventh.

LONDON:

Printed for R. Bladen. 1684.

# DVBLIN THE SE-cond of *April*. 1642.

*Good Sir*,

AFter my humble dutie remembred, &c. In my laſt, not by the laſt Poſte, but by the Poſte before, I certified you what then had been done by our Armie abroad; and that night our Lieutenant Generall came home, and all the Armie (bleſſed be God) very ſafe and well. And have not ever ſince been forth but once, *viz.* on Saterday laſt Sir *Simon Harecot* our *Engliſh* Collonel, with about an hundred and twenty horſe, went forth to view the Countrey ſix miles from this Citie toward the County of *Wicklowe*, and eſpying ſome Rebels made toward them: whereupon the Rebels fled, and betook themſelves unto the Caſtle of *Kilgobbon*,

where our horſemen watching them that none ſhould get forth, ſent hither for aid. And there was preſent aid ſent them about a thouſand Foot and Horſe, and that night they beſieged the Caſtle, the next day there was (being Sunday the 27th.) ſent unto them two peeces of Ordnance to batter the Caſtle: and after 21. ſhot made, it was very hardly won; but in placing the ordnance, Sir *Symon* being directing how it ſhould be done, was ſhot in the left ſhoulder, and on Monday laſt he died; And with him was ſhot Lieutenant *Cooke* dead in the place, and Serjeant Major *Berry*, both which came over the laſt week with the 400 Fire-locks out of *England*, and with them were about ten more of our men loſt, Serieant Maior *Berry* is yet living, but not like to recover. And that night was the Caſtle wonne, and about two hundred men, women and children in it (of the Rebels) ſlain, and that night our men blew up the Caſtle with powder, ſince which we have had no further proceedings here. On Monday laſt the 28 news came from Sir *Henry Tichborne*, that he had taken *Dundaulke*, and

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it is credibly reported of all, that he hath ſlain eight hundred men in the taking of it, and hath recovered in *Dundawlke*, three peeces of ordnance, and about thirtie thouſand pounds in money, plate, and goods for pillage. He wonne before that *Ardee*, and ſet a gariſon there, and another in *Bewly* Caſtle. It is reported that he ſlew ſince he went from *Tredath* eleven hundred men with the loſſe of a very few men; and he would now go for the *Newry*, where is the chief Magazine that the Rebels have, and moſt of their Treaſure, but that he wants men; for the whole Armie of his was but three thouſand; of which, part were left to keep *Tredath*, part at *Bewly* Caſtle, part at *Ardee*, and now if he leave a Gariſon alſo at *Dundawlke*, he will not have men enough to go againſt the *Newry*, for that is a ſtrong place. Thus hath God proſpered that man, for he is a good man: we cannot certainly heare what ſtrength they have on our ſide in the North, nor what my Lord Preſident of *Mounſter* hath done, I am afraid it goes hard with our friend there. We heare that my Lord Preſident of *Connaugh* is forſt

to retire to the Caſtle of *Athlone*. And that divers Caſtles where our friends are, are hard beſieged, and that the Caſtle of *Geaſhell* is ſurrendred upon compoſition, where our Ladie *Affaly* kept, but not with the ſafetie of all their lives that were in it. The nineteenth inſtant came my Lord *Dunſany* to *Dublin*, and ſubmitted himſelf, and is in the Caſtle, and his ſonne, aud ſome other Gentlemen with them; We are yet in great ſtraight for moneyes, and I am afraid we ſhall be in as great want of Corne ſhortly, except we have good ſupply out of *England*, for our Armie burnes all before them, and we are not ſtor'd before-hand, but from hand to mouth. It is yet ſomewhat reaſonable, becauſe men have not money to ſtore up any, and for feare of burning: ſome quantitie ha h been brought in theſe three weeks paſt, and now comes but very little in. At *Tredath* they have a very great Market, and betweene this and that the way reaſonable cleare; but on *Wicklowe* ſide, to the Southweſtward, the Rebels are in great number, I think our Armie goes that way ſhortly.

ſhortly. Thus with my humble dutie remembred, and my love to my brother *John Cole*, and ſiſter his wife, and the reſt of my brothers and ſiſters, I take leave. Reſting ever,

*Your obedient Sonne,*

ROBERT COLE.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

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# TRVE INTELIGENCE FROM DUBLIN,

## APRIL the 3. touching those important passages have happened thereabouts.

*As also*

The death of Sr. *Simon Harcut* an honourable Gentleman.

Together with a worthy Relation from Deane *Barnard* concerning severall remarkable particulars of Gods mercy towards our forces in the County of *Louth*, and the taking in of *Ardee* and *Dundalke*, two places of great Importance.

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*LONDON*,
Printed for *William Bladen* and are to be sold by *Michael Sparke* Ju. in Green-Arbour at the signe of the Bible, 1642.

LONDON.

# A Continuation of ſuch News as hath fallen out here and the Towns adjoyning from my laſt of the fift of this Month, when our ſiege was raiſed, to the 16. when *Dundalke* was taken by our forces iſſuing hence.

*Sir,*

OUr cauſe hath bin daily hitherto accompanied with ſucceſſe and victory, omitting former paſſages I ſhall acquaint you only with the preſent. Not long ſince our troopes marched hence to a Caſtle named *Carrickmain*, ſome 5. miles South-Eaſt from *Dublin*, a place as well by art as nature fortified, ſome 3. or 400. Rebels had the night before our intelligence, poſſeſſed themſelves therof, and being Maſters of the Caſtle held it with advantage, upon notice wherof there marched hence, the fire-locks that came lately to us, amongſt many Gentlemen that went hence, Sir *Simon Harcut* in chiefe commanded, a Gentleman of that courage, virtue and magnanimity, as not only inſpired courage but Religion in the Souldiers; at the firſt view of the Caſtle he found it ſtronger then that by his preſent forces it might be taken in, wherupon he was ſupplied with men, Artillery and other conveniences afreſh from *Dublin*, and being now as well fitted as he thought convenient, he ſets himſelf more roundly to the taking of the Caſtle, and being active in buſineſſe, from the Caſtle he received a ſhot on the top of his right breaſt, which being mortall made him yeeld unto the ſtroke, which when his men perceiving, as reſolute to abide all hazards, the Ordnance making little or no entrance, they with Croes and Axes, violently forced the doors, and being Maſters of the Caſtle, ſlew in their fury, men, women and children, and having now done the works they intended, they tooke up their Collonell, who not being able to be carried ſo farre as *Dublin*, they left at *Merian*, where the next day he died, and not more lamented then he deſerves to be honoured with the greateſt charactar in the world.

What hath hapned ſince the taking of this Caſtle is not much.

## *Drogheda*, MAR. 28. 1642.

AFter the Rebels (who had ſo long beſieged us) were routed, *March* the fift, and ſome of the chiefe of their Caſtles were poſſeſſed by us; Letters as well from Lords as others of the Gentry, came thick unto us every day, which (ſome receiving no anſwer) came and preſented themſelves to our mercy, in ſpeciall one *Bath*, who about the middle of *December*, came in with his Iriſh Dart, accompanied with the Sheriffe of the County of *Louth* (both Commiſſioners from the Rebells, and very confidently and arrogantly demanded the ſurrender of the Towne, at firſt he was aſhamed to owne the knowledge of me, by reaſon of ſome ſpeeches which had then paſſed between us, the event of which had proved beyond his beliefe or expectation, the Letters of the Lord *Nettervill*, and the Lord of *Slane*, with divers others of the chiefe of the Country, have I ſeen under their own hands in a moſt humble ſtile to my Lord *Moore*, to ſtand their friend, ſome proteſting their innocency, others pretending themſelves to be deluded by the Northerne *Iriſh*, and heavily curſing the firſt plotters of this buſineſſe, and yet we know, they curſed themſelves, and had enough under their own hands, (they little dreamt of) to ſteere us right enough in our judgement of them; From others we had fained Letters, of the approach of 2000. of *O Reyly* his men one way, and of 1800. of Sir *Philem O Neale* another, and each within five miles of us, but the uſe they had given of their lyes, and the contradiction which the ſubmiſſion of their Chiefe gave to it, made the newes of no value with us, yet it produced that effect, that to prevent their dry lodging, my Lord *Moore* and the Governour iſſued out with ſome competent force to *Slane*, burnt the Towne, tooke the Caſtle, and pillaged it, with which the Souldiers came laden home, and not long after made a Sally out another way, tooke one *Barnewell* of *Rahaſhcot* with two Prieſts with him, who was a Colonell amongſt the Rebells, and a great Parliar from them in the dayes of *Tore*, as dangerous a fellow by his naturall parts, and other educacie as any they had; His Caſtle after a few ſhot, and ſeeing our men approaching in a full body, he yeelded, where was found ſo much proviſion of Bread and other victualls ready baked, that no doubt he expected returne of his former gueſts, beſides abundance of all ſorts of Graine and Beere, which the Souldiers feaſted themſelves

themſelves with, he with his two Prieſts, and 7. or 8. Friars more are cloyſtered in our Priſon here. *Darcy* of *Platten*, both whoſe ſons were Captaines, who had the ſtrongeſt, fayreſt Caſtle in the Country, is fled, leaving his Wife and family, with about 50. Musquitiers to defend it, this howſoever the firſt time it was denied, the Lord *Moore*, and the Governour who demanded the ſurrender of it in the Kings name, yet the ſecond time hearing of our Peeces of Battery approaching, gave it up upon compoſition, and ſo we have a Garriſon there alſo, by which our Towne is ſecurely flanked on both ſides the River, how many Letters in the midſt of theſe forlorne hopes, have I ſeene of theirs, in a vaine comforting themſelves with an aſſurance (to uſe their own words) that the Almighty would doubtleſſe favour their juſt and innocent cauſe, and holy intentions, indited by no leſſe then their Lieutenant generall, another I have ſeen of *O Rellyes* to my Lord *Moore*, that he had no Newes, but the Pouder was in making every where, (to uſe his own words) Thanks to God and our good King, but we know the ſame time he was falne ſick upon the news of Sir *Philems* late routing at *Tollohelland* the fift of this Moneth.

To relate what a change there was preſently in this Towne from the extremity of ſcarceneſſe and deerneſſe to that plenty and cheapneſſe would be incredible, : Eggs which during this ſiege, one was a rich preſent worthy of thanks from the Chiefeſt, were now 15. a penny, Hennes at two pence, Milch Cowes at five ſhillings, Horſes which before the ſiege were valued at 3. or 4. pounds, ſould for one ſhilling, nay commonly paſſed amongſt friends for a quart of Beere, the fineſt Wheate for 8. ſhillings a Barrell in the Market, Fiſh (to which we had beene altogether ſtrangers) multiplyed abundantly; though ſuch a glut of all proviſions cannot be imagined (in reaſon) to hold out many Moneths, by the burning of ſo many thouſand Barrells of Corne further from us, which they could not bring in.

Many bloudy murthers were committed upon the Engliſh Proteſtants their Priſoners, in revenge of this late defeat, at *Ardee* they killed all that was remaining there the next night, neare *Slane*, an old Gentlewoman with her Daughter and a Grand-child, had their throats cut in their beds, with divers others. The Earle of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant generall, was now with 3000. foot, and 800. Horſe, burning the County of *Meath*, and on the 11. of this Moneth, attended with divers Colonells and Captaines, dined here at *Drogheda*, at whoſe approach our Rebellious ſcattered Rout trembled, but his being

called back to *Dublin*, they tooke head againe, and gathered to *Ardee* and *Dundalke*, as their chiefe receptacles. Multitudes out of *Louth* and *Meath* we heare repaired to them, ſo that they began to make a boaſt of viſiting us againe.

My Lord and our Governour, who in all things have ever proceeded very unanimouſly, thought fit to ſave them the labour, in giving them a viſit there, and ſo upon the 21. of this Moneth, with a thouſand foot and 200. Horſe, they marched that way-ward, firſt finiſhed what had beene left undone about *Slane*, in Burning that and the Country thereabouts, tooke many Caſtles in their way, on the 23. day, they drew neare to *Ardee*, where a thouſand, ſome ſay 1500. adventured to meet about a mile off, with the newes of which, when the Scouts returned, our Governour according to his wonted cheerefullneſſe upon any ſuch ſervice, drew all into a Battalia, the Souldiers being of themſelves as readily diſpoſed, and longing to greet them, our forlorne hope of 100. men ſent out to ſcoure ſome ditches, ſtumbled upon an Ambuſcado of their Musquitiers, and inſtantly beate them out, the reſt of the Diviſion being at their backs, with the Horſe fell upon the whole Body of theirs, and after the exchange of 5. or 6. vallies of ſhot, they betooke themſelves to their heeles, whom the Horſe proſecuting to the Gates, there was about 600. ſlaine, and many fell by my Lord *Moores* owne hands, at the foot of the Bridge ſome Muſquetiers in a Tower there placed, made ſuch hot worke, that for the preſent, they were put to a ſtand, our Governour who was the firſt that entred the Gates, diſdaining now ſo much as to have a rubb in this aſſured victory, with ſome few Muſquetiers and Horſe, found a paſſage over the River, and ſo galled them on the other ſide, that they ſoone abandoned it, the paſſage being thus opened for the Horſe, they entred, and with a full ſpeed, chaſed them through the Towne, but by the little ſtop, many had gotten too farre to be overtaken, and which is ſtill Gods great goodneſſe, not one man of ours loſt, ſome of the Horſe in the midſt of ſo many Pikes were hurt and killed, but not one leſſened of their riders.

Here the Souldiers having their fill of Pillage and good victualls tooke up their lodging for that night, the next morning burnt the meaner Houſes, advanced further into the Country, burning Townes, and taking ſome Caſtles towards *Dundalke*, where many fore-ſeeing their hopes about to vaniſh, came and ſubmitted.

Vpon the 26. of this Month they aſſaulted *Dundalke*, which the Re-

bels

bels had to their uttermoſt fortified, which by reaſon of their double walls, and the mooriſh ground on the one ſide, and the Sea on the other proved the more difficult, the out-Towne where they had the hotteſt worke, they were not much above an houre before they tooke it, but at the head of the firſt Street, there was a Caſtle ſtanding by it ſelf, ſo well man'd with good ſhot, that gave a ſtop to our proceedings, and was ſo ſtrong that our Peeces of battery could doe no good upon it, under this a while our men refreſhed themſelves, ſome in the meane time imployed in the view of all advantages, at length we ſet fire on ſome houſes neare the Caſtle, which the wind blowing the ſmoake juſt upon them, ours approached to the very doore of the Caſtle and fired it, and thruſting in a great deale of ſtraw, choaked them out, ſo that of themſelves in the miſt, they ſtole out of a window, this rubb being removed, they divided themſelves, ſo that they aſſaulted the 3. Ports at once, with a reſolution never to retreat, and ſo after the loſſe of 10. men and a Sergeant and 200. of theirs, and a continued fight from 10. of the clock in the morning till 7. at night, each diviſion entered their Ports, the Governour being on the head of the firſt, by which they within were confounded, and by the ſhelter of the night now approaching, fled out of the Towne undiſcried, Sir *Philim ô Neale* with the Lord of *Louth* and others, after much lamentation of their ill deſtinies were gone an houre or two before, taking the opportunity of the ebb, whom by this time the tyde being come in, ours could not proſecute.

At the taking of the baſe out-Town, Enſigne *Fortiſcue* was ſlain, whoſe death was much lamented, 3 peeces of Ordnance was taken, of which two were of braſſe, exceeding any of ours, Wines and Proviſion were found in abundance, Sir *Philim ô Neale* in ſhew of what revenge he could make, burnt a fair Caſtle of my L. *Moors* called *Ballimeſcanlin* about two miles from *Dundalke*, our Governour behaved himſelf very valiantly in the hazard of his perſon with the meaneſt Souldier, my L. *Moore* is by all accordingly applauded, and each Captain have gained much honour, and every Souldier deſerves incouragement, who ſhrunck not an inch from what they were commanded, who according to order killed all, men and women that could be found of all the Rebels, within above an 100. poore Engliſh Proteſtants, who in the morning as ſoon as the aſſault began, were clapt up together in Priſon, were now almoſt beſide themſelves

ſelves with joy of being releaſed.

This welcome news we yeſterday ſaluted in the Streets, juſt as we were comming from Church in the after-noone, our forces ſtill abide there, till the pleaſure of the State be knowne, they being very deſirous to proceed, and we longing to ſee them here again, and to rejoyce with them in a day of Thankſgiving to God for this happy ſucceſſe, the break-neck of this Rebellion North-ward.

APRIL 5. 1642.

THis day the Lord *Moore* brought in hither 3. priſoners, one his owne uncle, another was one *Barnwell* of whom Deane *Barnard* makes mention in this Relation; and the third is Sir *Thady Duffes* one of our Aldermen his ſons, who was taken very pretily, Sir *Philem ô Neale* after that he was driven from *Dundalke* went to the navy, and there to get a falſe and undeſerved credit, bragged of his good ſervice which he had done at *Dundalke*, and that he had ſetled a ſtrong Gariſon in *Dundalke*, which this young Gentleman M. *Duffe* hearing and believing, for joy poſted to *Dundalke* never doubting of the truth, came without feare into the Towne, and ſo was taken and brought into our Caſtle of *Dublin*, where he is faſt for returning to his great Commander Sir *Philem* to give him the lye.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

